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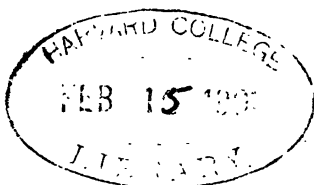
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*Constantino Jones*

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## QUAESTIONES PETRONIANAE.

SCRIPSIT H. W. HALEY.

QUAMQUAM hac nostra aetate paene omnia antiquorum scripta a doctis viris accurate copioseque pertractata sunt, tamen in Petronium pauci admodum studia sua contulerunt. Quod maxime mirum videtur: nam dubitari non potest quin saturae Petronianae perutiles sint ad vitam Romanorum recte intellegendam; qua de causa satis dignae videntur in quas aliquid operae et curae impendatur. Fortasse autem textus foedissimis mendis plenus doctos a saturis diu deterruit; at nunc Franciscus Buechelerus, vir doctissimus, tanta cum diligentia Petronium curavit<sup>1</sup> ut ea menda pleraque feliciter sint sublata.

De ipsius Petroni aetate nihil hoc tempore scribendum esse statuimus quod de hac quaestione multum diuque a viris doctis disputatum est. Nam ut alios omittam, Studerus<sup>2</sup> et Buechelerus<sup>3</sup> hanc rem tam luculenter tamque copiose tractaverunt ut perdifficile sit novi quidquam et integri adferre. Sunt tamen duae aliae quaestiones de quibus fortasse operae pretium erit disputare; quarum altera pertinet ad tempora quibus Encolpius et reliquae saturarum personae vixisse finguntur, altera ad urbem in qua convivium Trimalchionis agitur. Has enim nemo, nisi fallimur, satis diligenter tractavit.

Quae cum ita sint, primum quaerendum est quibus temporibus Encolpius itinera sua fecerit. Qua de re viri docti multum inter se dissenserunt. Nam ut alios praeteream, Burmannus<sup>4</sup> res gestas Encolpi Claudianis temporibus adtribuit, Studerus Neronianis. Beck-

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<sup>1</sup> Petronii Satirae, et Liber Priapeorum. Tertium edidit Franciscus Buecheler. Berolini apud Weidmannos. MDCCCLXXXII.

<sup>2</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. II. (1842-3) pp. 50-92; 202-23.

<sup>3</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. pp. V-VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Intellexerat tamen Burmannus nonnulla in saturis ad imperatoris Augusti tempora pertinere. Haec enim in praefatione scripsit: 'His omnibus ego rite pensitatis, Tiberii, Caligulae et Claudii imperia attigisse Petronium puto, immo Augusti adhuc felicia tempora vidisse.'

ius<sup>1</sup> autem, vir doctissimus, verum ~~paene~~ comprehendit; hoc tamen erravit quod ipsum Petronium extremo Augusti principatu vel primis annis quibus Tiberius imperium teneret, scripsisse statuit. Quasi vero necesse fuerit Petronio ut de suis tantum temporibus scriberet. Itaque Beckius magna ex parte, nisi fallimur, et oleum et operam perdidit. Nam Petronium circiter Neronis tempora scripsisse cum ipsarum saturarum genere et sermone, tum consensu Studeri, Franzi,<sup>2</sup> Teuffeli,<sup>3</sup> Buecheleri, Mommseni,<sup>4</sup> multorum aliorum<sup>5</sup> quos hic enumerare taedeat, luce clarius demonstratum duco. Hoc unum tamen Beckius satis probavit, multa apud Petronium esse quae ad Augusti tempora pertineant. Sed dum Petronium perscrutabatur, nonnumquam in errores incidit; quorum duos exempli gratia ponemus. Nam in commentariolo quod de aetate Petroni scripsit (p. 65) rem sic probare conatus est: 'Res ergo sic se habet. Ex quinque primis imperatoribus Tiberius et Nero patris patriae titulum recusaverunt; Claudium autem et Gaium umquam eum titulum accepisse nihil est quod indicet.' Ex quo effici existimat locum illum Petroni quo imperator pater patriae appellatur ad Octavianum pertinere. Atqui certo certius est et Gaium Caesarem<sup>6</sup> et Claudium<sup>7</sup> et Neronem<sup>8</sup> patris patriae titulum adsumpsisse. Neque opponi potest locus ille Suetoni (Vit. Ner. c. 8) quem profert Beckius; multi enim imperatores patris patriae nomen quod primo recusaverant, post aliquanto adsciverunt.<sup>9</sup> Deinde apud Petronium (c. 31) Encolpius dicit: 'Tandem ergo discubuimus, pueris Alexandrinis aquam in manus nivatam infundentibus' (ad lavandum scilicet) 'aliisque insequentibus ad pedes ac paronychia cum ingenti subtilitate tollenti-

<sup>1</sup> In commentatione quae inscribitur: 'The Age of Petronius Arbiter.'

<sup>2</sup> C. I. G. III. p. 718.

<sup>3</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. IV. p. 511; 'Gesch. der Röm. Litteratur' (1882), pp. 690, 692.

<sup>4</sup> Hermes XIII. (1878) p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Iannellius (Cod. Perott. p. CXX) permultos alios enumeravit.

<sup>6</sup> Cass. Dio LIX. 3; C. I. L. II. 4639; 4640; 4962, 4. Cf. Eckhel. Doct. Num. VI. p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> Eckhel. VI. 234; C. I. L. III. 409; 476; 1977; 6024; 6060; V. 25; 5050; 5804; 8002; 8003; IX. 5426; 5759; 5973 et al.; Cass. Dio LX. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Eckhel. VI. 263; cf. C. I. L. III. 6123; VII. 12; XII. 512; 5459.

<sup>9</sup> Sueton. Vit. Vespas. c. 12; Cass. Dio LIX. 3; Vit. Hadrian c. 6; Vit. Anton. Pii c. 6; Eckhel. Doct. Num. VIII. p. 452.

bus.<sup>1</sup> Quem locum Beckius<sup>1</sup> adfert quo probet Petronium ante Neronis tempora scripsisse. Putat enim Petronium aquam decoctam, Neronis inventum, hoc loco memoraturum fuisse si Nerone regnante saturas suas composuisset. At quis umquam aqua decocta ad lavandum usus est? Suetonius<sup>2</sup> autem ipsum Neronem dicit nivatis piscinis tempore aestivo se refovere solitum esse.

Sed ut ad rem revertamur, Buechelerus<sup>3</sup> dubitat an Petronius incidisse Encolpi itinera finxerit in ultimos annos quibus regnabat Tiberius. Quocum consentit Teuffelius;<sup>4</sup> sed de horum opinione infra disputandum est. Mommsenus autem unus, quod sciam, sententiam quam probare institimus in medium protulit; sed quamquam acutissime, ut solet, rem disputavit, tamen perpauca tantum verbis quid sentiret exposuit.<sup>5</sup>

Si rationibus tantum res probanda esset, tamen valde credibile videretur Petronium periculi vitandi causa tempora a suis remota elegisse quae describeret. Nam etiamsi quinquennio illo Neronis, quod vocant, saturas suas composuisset, quod nullo certo argumento demonstrari potest, tamen cautius, opinor, scripsisset, memor casuum Prisci<sup>6</sup> et Cordi<sup>7</sup> et Scauri<sup>8</sup> et multorum aliorum, quorum scripta accusandi materiem delatoribus prae buerant. Nondum enim satis apparuerat qualis Nero evasurus esset. At postea, cum delatores Neronis multos falsis criminibus perderent, multo periculosius erat scriptori de sua aetate saturas componere. Quam facile autem fuisset incusandi causas in talibus scriptis reperire vel eo optime ostenditur, quod etiam nunc sunt qui Trimalchionis persona Neronem designari credant. Accedit quod multa in saturis ad illam partem Campaniae pertinent quam Nero maxime frequentabat.<sup>9</sup> Itaque nisi fallimur, necesse erat Petronio aut saturas suas occultare dum viveret aut tempora longe a suis remota describere. Quod etiam verisimilius sit si Petronium eundem esse putes quem commemorat Tacitus.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Age of Petronius Arbiter,' pp. 58, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Vit. Neron. c. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VII.

<sup>4</sup> 'Gesch. der Röm. Literatur' (1882), p. 691.

<sup>5</sup> Hermes XIII. (1878) p. 111. <sup>6</sup> Tac. Ann. III. cc. 49-51. <sup>7</sup> Ibid. IV. cc. 34-5.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. VI. 29; Cass. Dio LVIII. 24. Cf. Sueton. Vit. Tiber. c. 61 med. Hoc tamen sine dubio concedendum est, Neronem in talibus puniendis multo leniorem Tiberio fuisse; Tac. Ann. XIV. cc. 49-50; Sueton. Vit. Neron. c. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Tac. Ann. XIV. 4; 13; XV. 33; 51; 52; XVI. 10; 19. <sup>10</sup> Ibid. XVI. 17-18

Sed quamquam hae rationes fortasse aliquid momenti habent, tamen non rationibus sed argumentis rem diiudicare oportet. Itaque ex saturis ipsis quaerendum est utrum Petronius Augusti tempora an Tiberi an Gai an Claudii an Neronis descripserit. Hoc unum tamen concedendum est, Augusti tempora et gratiorem et tutiorem materiem scriptoribus praeuisse quam reliquorum principatus.

His praemissis argumenta apud Petronium reperta proferamus. Quorum vel maximum est quod (c. 53) haec verba servata sunt: 'Et plane interpellavit saltationis libidinem actuarius, qui tanquam urbis acta recitavit: VII. kalendas Sextiles: in praedio Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt pueri XXX, puellae XL.' Quod neque casui neque negligentiae tribuendum videtur: nam verbum illud 'Sextiles' in codice Traguriensi plane scriptum exstat, atque lectio difficilior est quam quae lapsu calami aut interpolatione facta sit. Sed 'mensis qui Sextilis fuerat ex senatus consulto Marcio Censorino C. Asinio Gallo coss.' (A.U.C. 746) 'in Augusti honorem dictus est Augustus, anno Augustano XX.'<sup>1</sup> Quod si verum est, Petronius Cenam Trimalchionis, quam vocant, post Galli et Censorini consulatum actam esse noluit. Nam quis credere potest eum tam neglegenter tamque inepte scripsisse ut Augustum mensem sine ulla causa Sextilem vocaret? Quae cum ita sint, multum miror quod Beckius hunc locum praeteriit; nisi forte ne nimium probaret veritus est. Buechelerus autem verba contra suam sententiam valentia silentio transiit. At Mommsenum ea verba non effugerant, qui multum auctoritatis iis tribuendum esse censuit.<sup>2</sup> Quae eo magis notanda sunt quod apud Petronium (c. 38) haec quoque leguntur: 'C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iuliis cenaculum locat;' mensis enim qui antea Quintilis vocatus erat A.U.C. 710 Iulius dictus est.<sup>3</sup>

Ad hoc confirmandum accedit aliud argumentum, quod Beckius copiose exposuit.<sup>4</sup> Verba enim 'Augusto, patri patriae, feliciter' (c. 60) Tiberio certe non conveniunt, quod ille patris patriae titulum

<sup>1</sup> Censorin. de Die Natali c. 22 ad fin.; cf. Macrob. I. 12, 35; Cass. Dio. LV. c. 6; Sueton. Vit. Octav. c. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Hermes XIII. p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Macrob. I. 12, 34; Censorin. de Die Natali c. 22 ad fin.; cf. Dion. XLIV. c. 5; Sueton. Vit. Caes. c. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Quo tamen ille perperam usus est, ut supra diximus.

constantissime recusavit,<sup>1</sup> Augusti autem nomine perraro usus est.<sup>2</sup> Sed Octavianus senatus consulto Augustus appellatus est A.U.C. 727,<sup>3</sup> et patris patriae titulum iure adscivit A.U.C. 752.<sup>4</sup> Itaque constat verba Petroni ei quam optime convenire. Accedit quod (c. 77) apud Petronium legimus: 'Ad summam, Scaurus cum huc venit, nusquam mavoluit hospitari, et habet ad mare paternum hospitium.' Haec verba Trimalchionis ad aliquem ex Aemiliis Scauris pertinere<sup>5</sup> viri docti perquam probabiliter coniecerunt. Sed ea familia exstincta est in Scauro Mamerco,<sup>6</sup> qui A.U.C. 787, Tiberio regnante, sibi mortem conscivit. Itaque cum cena Trimalchionis neque Tiberi principatu neque post Mamercum mortuum acta sit, necesse est eam Augusti temporibus adtribuamus.

Aliud autem argumentum praebent verba Encolpi (c. 34): 'Statim allatae sunt amphorae vitreae diligenter gypsatae, quarum in cervicibus pittacia erant affixa cum hoc titulo: Falernum Opimianum annorum centum.' Nam vinum illud pretiosissimum natum est A.U.C. 633, Lucio Opimio consule, cuius ex nomine Opimianum nominatum est.<sup>7</sup> Itaque si vinum Opimianum tempore cenae Trimalchionis centum tantum fuit annorum, cena A.U.C. 733 acta est. Sed nescio an Petronius verbum illud 'centum' pro paulo maiore numero posuerit; qua de re infra pluribus dicemus. Utcumque se ea res habuit, aetas vini multo melius Augusti temporibus convenit quam ceterorum principum. Nihil enim profecerunt Burman-

<sup>1</sup> Sueton. Vit. Tiber. cc. 26, 67; Dio LVII. 8; LVIII. 12; Tac. Ann. I. 72; II. 87; cf. Eckhel. Doct. Num. VI. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Sueton. Vit. Tiber. c. 26; cf. Dion. LVII. cc. 2, 8. At in nummis Tiberius Augusti titulum habet.

<sup>3</sup> Fast. Praenest. ad XVII. Kal. Febr.; Censorin. de Die Natali 21, 8; Dio LIII. 16; Mon. Ancy. lat. 6, 13, p. 144 Mommsen.; cf. Ovid. Fast. I. 589; Liv. epit. lib. CXXXIV; Sueton. Vit. Oct. 7; Vell. Paterc. II. 91; C. I. L. X. 8375.

<sup>4</sup> Fast. Praen. ad Non. Febr.; Mon. Ancy. lat. 6, 24, p. 153 Mommsen.; cf. Ovid. Fast. II. 119.

<sup>5</sup> Hac de re consentiunt Studerus (Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 219) et Beckius ('Age of Petr. Arbiter,' pp. 81-3) et Buechelerus (ed. tert. p. 126).

<sup>6</sup> Sen. Suas. II. 22 ed. Mueller.: 'Scaurum Mamercum, in quo Scaurorum familia exstincta est.'

<sup>7</sup> Cic. Brut. 83, 287, Plin. Hist. Nat. XIV. 55; ibid. XIV. 94; Vellei. Paterc. II. 7.

nus<sup>1</sup> et Buechelerus,<sup>2</sup> qui apertam verborum Petroni sententiam amoliri conati sunt. Nam sive vinum illud verum Opimianum erat sive falsum, Trimalchio, homo omnium iactantissimus, vinum suum quam vetustissimum videri voluit. Itaque verisimile est pittacia, quae speciei causa in amphoris erant adfixa, aetatem quasi veri Opimiani indicasse. Quae cum ita sint, Petronius cenam Trimalchionis circiter centum annis post L. Opimium consulem posuisse videtur.

Deinde Encolpius haec de Trimalchione narrat (c. 52): 'Ipse erectis supra frontem manibus Syrum histrionem exhibebat, concinente tota familia: *Mάδεια, Περιμάδεια*.'<sup>3</sup> Quae verba si cum capite 55 conferas, 'Syrum histrionem' notissimum illum mimum Publilium Syrum fuisse facillime suspiceris. Quod si verum est, Trimalchio Publilium agentem in scaena viderat; qui enim potuit 'exhibere' mimum nisi eum agentem aliquando vidisset? Publilius autem superstes fuit Caesari et Laberio,<sup>4</sup> sed quo anno mortuus sit non traditum est. Itaque si Trimalchio Publilium in scaena agentem viderat, paene efficitur cenam Augusti aetate actam esse.

Quintum autem argumentum praebent verba quae c. 2 scripta legimus: '*Nuper* ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque invenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere afflavit.' Hunc locum Beckius copiose docteque tractavit;<sup>5</sup> vereor tamen ne parum auctoritatis verbis Petroni adtribuerit. Nam Dionysius Halicarnassensis, qui Augusti Caesaris temporibus floruit, de Asiatica eloquentia sic scripsit:<sup>6</sup>

*ἡ μὲν Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων ἄτοπον εἰλφέρει σχῆμα, τῶν ἐαυτῆς ἐκπεσούσα ἀγαθῶν· ἡ δ' ἐκ τινων βαράθρων τῆς Ἀσίας*

<sup>1</sup> Burmannus in adnot. ad loc. haec scripsit: 'Potuit et titulus ille affixus fuisse anno centesimo post Opimii consulatum et ita mutato possessore ad Trimalchionem venisse, qui plura sibi a patrono relicta iactat c. 52.' Sed haec coniectura incertissima est.

<sup>2</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Haec verba, quae in codice Traguriensi non Graecis litteris sed vulgaribus sunt scripta, Buechelerus principium cantici saltatorii fuisse putat. Quod si verum est, fortasse id canticum pars mimi erat.

<sup>4</sup> Sueton. p. 295, 22 Roth.; Hieron. Chron. ad Olymp. CLXXXIV; Cic. ad Att. XIV. 2, 1; cf. Macrob. II. 7, 6-9.

<sup>5</sup> 'Age of Petronius Arbitr,' pp. 50-51.

<sup>6</sup> Iud. de ant. orat. praef. c. 1. Fortasse Petronius hunc Dionysi locum imitatus est. Cf. Sueton. Oct. c. 86; Plut. Anton. c. 2.

ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῶην ἀφικομένη Μοῦσα ἢ Φρυγία τις ἢ Καρικὸν τι κακὸν ἢ βάρβαρον Ἑλληνίδας ἡξίου διοικεῖν πόλεις, ἀπελάσασα τῶν κοινῶν τὴν ἑτέραν, ἢ ἀμαθὴς τὴν φιλόσοφον καὶ ἢ μαινομένη τὴν σώφρονα. Quae Encolpi verbis tam consimilia sunt ut facile conicias Petronium eum in iisdem fere temporibus posuisse quibus Dionysius vixerit. Quod si verum est, verbum illud 'nuper' facile intelligi potest; sed si sententiam Studeri aut Buecheleri sequeris, difficilius erit ad explicandum. Nam verum quidem est quod Beckius dicit, *nuper* nonnumquam pro longo temporis spatio poni; sed hoc plerumque non fit nisi contextus orationis clare indicat scriptorem tempus longum quidem illud sed brevius tamen alio quodam tempore eo verbo significare voluisse.

Bene autem congruunt quae Encolpius de more declamandi dicit (cc. 1, 2) cum verbis Cassi Severi,<sup>1</sup> qui Augusti et Tiberi temporibus floruit: 'Indicabo tibi affectum meum; cum in foro dico, aliquid ago: cum declamo, id quod bellissime Censorinus aiebat de his qui honores in municipiis ambitiose peterent, videor mihi in somniis laborare. Deinde res ipsa diversa est: totum aliud est pugnare, aliud ventilare. Hoc ita semper habitum est, scholam quasi ludum esse, forum arenam. Et ideo ille primum in foro verba facturus tiro dictus est. Agedum istos declamatores produc in senatum, in forum; cum loco mutabuntur; velut adsueta clauso et delicatae umbrae corpora sub divo stare non possunt, non imbrem ferre, non solem sciunt, vix se inveniunt; adsuerunt enim suo arbitrio desertos esse. Non est quod oratorem in hac puerili exercitatione spectes. Quid si velis gubernatorem in piscina aestimare?'

Deinde animadvertendum est quod Encolpius ita de Crotone loquitur: 'Cum deinde diligentius exploraremus qui homines inhabitarent nobile solum, quodve genus negotiationis praecipue probarent post attritas bellas frequentibus opes.' Quo de loco Buechelerus: 'Iter facientes dicuntur a vilico quaesivisse quod genus negotiationis Crotoniatae praecipue probarent post attritas bellis frequentibus opes tamquam etiam tum civitas illa in sua, non in populi Romani potestate atque universa Italia non dudum pacata esset.'<sup>2</sup> Sed vix credibile est Petronium tam negligenter scripsisse; nam Croton circiter

<sup>1</sup> Sen. Controv. praef. lib. III. 12-14. Verba Petroni et Severi consimilia esse concedit Studerus, Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.



A.U.C. 560 in potestatem Romanorum revererat indeque in ea conditione manserat.<sup>1</sup> Itaque, nisi fallimur, verba illa 'post attritas bellis frequentibus opes' spectant non solum ad damna longe ante accepta sed etiam ad inopiam quae bella civilia paulo ante Augusti principatum gesta consecuta est.<sup>2</sup>

Denique Eumolpus poeta haec dicit (c. 88): 'Ipse senatus, recti bonique praeceptor, mille pondo auri Capitolio promittere solet, et nequis dubitet pecuniam concupiscere, Iovem quoque peculio exornat.' Sed verba illa 'recti bonique praeceptor' optime conveniunt iis temporibus cum Augustus per senatum populum Romanum ad pristinos mores reducere conaretur.

Haec fere sunt quae maxime nos adduxerunt ut itinera Encolpi in priorem partem Augusti principatus incidisse crederemus. Sed fortasse operae pretium est rem propius inspicere ut tempora Encolpi quam accuratissime definiantur. Itaque quo id facilius fiat, series rerum et temporum hoc loco adponenda est.

(1) Octavianus senatus consulto 'Augustus' appellatus est A.U.C. 727. Sed convivae Trimalchionis imperatorem 'Augustum' vocant (c. 60); itaque cena Trimalchionis post eum titulum datum agitur.

(2) Eumolpus dicit (c. 118): Refugiendum est ab omni verborum, ut ita dicam, vilitate et sumendae voces plebe semotae, ut fiat 'odi profanum vulgus et arceo.'<sup>3</sup> Quo autem tempore Horatius ea verba scripserit edideritve incertum est. Plerique tamen critici sex prima carmina libri tertii circiter A.U.C. 726-8, id est, haud ita longe post bellum Actiacum, eo fere tempore quo Augustus mores populi corrigere instituebat, scripta esse statuerunt. Itaque sermonem Eumolpi aliquanto post id tempus habitum esse facillime conicias.

(3) Vinum Trimalchionis 'Falernum Opimianum annorum centum' dicitur (c. 34). Sed vinum Opimianum annorum centum fuit A.U.C. 733. Neque tamen necesse est verbum illud 'centum' proprie accipias; eiusmodi enim verba saepe pro paulo maioribus minoribusve numeris ponebantur quo brevior et concinnior fieret di-

<sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 560 colonia Romana Crotona deducta est. Liv. XXXIV. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Sextus Pompeius oram Bruttii diripuerat; Appian. Bell. Civ. V. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Hor. Od. III. 1, 1.

cendi scribendive ratio. Itaque nihil obstat quin Petronium cenam Trimalchionis paulo plus centum annis post L. Opimium consulem posuisse credas.

(4) Sine dubio Aeneis Vergili prius aliquanto edita est quam ea pars saturarum quae hodie exstat acta est. Personae enim saturarum haud raro versus ex Aeneide depromptos in sermonibus proferunt.<sup>1</sup> Aeneis autem post Vergili mortem edita esse traditur. Sed Vergilius e vita decessit A.U.C. 735; itaque ea pars saturarum quae exstat post id tempus acta est. Constat autem ex testimoniis antiquorum Aeneida et ante Vergili mortem avidè expectatam<sup>2</sup> et eo mortuo cito pervulgatam esse.<sup>3</sup> Itaque non mirum est si aliquot annis post Vergilium mortuum etiam Trimalchio, homo indoctissimus, versus ex Aeneide memoriter proferre potuit.

Haec fere sunt quae tempora a Petronio descripta 'a parte ante,' ut scholastici dicebant, definire videantur. Itaque reliquum est ut et 'a parte post' ea definiamus.

(1) Imperator pater patriae vocatur (c. 60). Sed Tiberius, ut supra diximus, eum titulum accipere nolebat. Itaque cum multis de causis itinera ab Encolpio facta in Gai principatum aut Claudii aut Neronis incidisse non possint, constat patrem illum patriae Augustum fuisse. Sed Augustus mortuus est A.U.C. 767; itaque cena Trimalchionis ante id tempus acta esse fingitur. Augustus autem, quamquam A.U.C. 752 patris patriae titulum iure adsumpsit, tamen antea aliquanto pater patriae a populo vocabatur.<sup>4</sup> Itaque licet cenam Trimalchionis aliquanto ante eum titulum adsumptum actam esse putes.

(2) Octavus mensis anni Sextilis vocatur (c. 53). Sed mensis qui antea Sextilis fuerat A.U.C. 746 Augustus dictus est. Itaque cena Trimalchionis ante id tempus acta est.

Quae cum ita sint, hanc fere rerum et temporum seriem habemus.

<sup>1</sup> Hoc faciunt Trimalchio (c. 39) et Eumolpus (cc. 111, 112). Servus autem Habinnatis Aeneida recitat (c. 68) et ipse Encolpius, rerum gestarum narrator, Vergilianos versus bis profert (cc. 61, 132). Cf. c. 68, 'Miscebat Atellanicos versus ut tunc primum me etiam Vergilius offenderit'; c. 118, 'Homerus testis et lyrici Romanusque Vergilius et Horatii curiosa felicitas.'

<sup>2</sup> Propert. II. 34, 65-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid. Amor. I. 15, 25; Trist. II. 533; Art. Am. III. 337; Sueton. de Grammat. c. 13. <sup>4</sup> Dio LV. 10; cf. C. I. L. II. n. 2107 (A.U.C. 748); ibid. I. p. 386.

Octavianus 'Augustus' appellatus est	A.U.C. 727.
Hor. Carm. III. 1, 1 scriptum est circiter (?)	" " " 726-8.
Falern. Opim. centum annorum erat	" " " 733.
Vergilius mortuus est	" " " 735.

## TEMPUS SATURARUM

Sextilis 'Augustus' dictus est	A.U.C. 746.
Augustus 'pater patriae' iure vocatus est	" " " 752.
Augustus mortuus est	" " " 767.

Ea autem quae ab Encolpio narrantur non multum inter se distant tempore ; quod ex consequentia rerum licet concludamus. Itaque et cena Trimalchionis et reliqua pars saturarum quae hodie exstat post mortem Vergili (A.U.C. 735) sed ante Galli et Censorini consulatum (746) actae esse videntur. Fortasse igitur haud ita multum erres si Encolpium circiter A.U.C. 740 in Campania et Crotone fuisse putes. Sic enim, nisi fallimur, voluit Petronius.

Hac nostra sententia exposita, deinde tractanda sunt omnia quae contra eam facere videantur. Quare necesse est duo argumenta, quae Buechelerus protulit ut sententiam suam probaret, perscrutemur. Quorum alterum pertinet ad fabulam quam Trimalchio de fabro vitri ductilis narrat (c. 51), alterum ad cognomen Trimalchionis. Itaque prius, ut videtur, de fabula disputandum est. Quae et ab aliis scriptoribus narratur ; cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXVI. 195 : 'Ferunt Tiberio principe excogitato vitri temperamento, ut flexile esset, totam officinam artificis eius abolitam ne aeris argenti auri metallis pretia detraherentur, eaque fama crebrior diu quam certior fuit.' Similia refert Cassius Dio (LVII. 21), qui et alias nugas praeposuit : κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον (A.U.C. 776) καὶ στοὰ μεγάλη ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροκλινὴς ἐγένετο, θαυμαστὸν δὴ τινα τρόπον ὠρθώθη. ἀρχιτέκτων γάρ τις, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα οὐδεὶς οἶδε, τῇ γὰρ θαυματοποιίᾳ αὐτοῦ φθονήσας ὁ Τιβέριος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγραφῆναι, οὗτος οὖν, ὅστις ποτὲ ὠνομάζετο, τοὺς τε θεμελίους αὐτῆς περίεξ κρατίνας ὥστε μὴ συγκινηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν πόκοις τε καὶ ἱματίοις παχέσι περιλαβών, σχοίνοις τε πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν διέδησε, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔδραν ἀνθρώποις τε πολλοῖς καὶ μηχανήμασιν ὠσάμενος ἐπανήγαγε. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ Τιβέριος καὶ ἐθαύμασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐζηλοτύπησε, καὶ διὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνο χρήμασιν ἐτίμησε, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσελθόν-

τος οἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱκετεῖαν ποιούμενον, κὰν τούτῳ ποτήριόν τι ὑαλοῦν καταβαλόντος τε ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ θλασθέν πως ἢ συντριβὴν ταῖς τε χερσὶ διατρίψαντος καὶ ἀθραυστον παραχρῆμα ἀποφήναντος, ὥς καὶ συγγνώμης διὰ τοῦτο τευζομένου, καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. Quod si quis credit vix idoneus est qui historiam scribat. Buechelerus tamen rem sic probare conatus est: 'Nam qui in capite 51 dicitur Caesar, id est imperator, Tiberius Augustus est qui anno post Christum 22 fabrum illum vitri ductilis interfecit.'<sup>1</sup> Quasi vero haec fabula, quam Petronius Trimalchioni, homini credulo et indocto, narrandam adtribuit quamque ipse Plinius incertissimam esse censuit, pro vera et certa historia accipienda sit. Tacitus enim, gravissimus auctor, nihil tale tradidit; Plinius autem, qui ipse A.U.C. 776 natus est cuique optimae facultates erant ad verum cognoscendum, de fabula illa scripsit 'eaeque fama crebrior diu quam certior fuit.' Accedit quod Petronius et Plinius rem simpliciter narrant; sed Dio fabulam exemplificavit et exornavit quo et artifex peritior et Tiberius crudelior viderentur. Nam eiusmodi fabulae 'mobilitate vigent viresque adquirunt eundo,' et Dio circiter centum annis post Plinium vixit. Atque, si dis placet, eam ipsam fabulam de imperatore quodam Austriae, quam vocant, huius aetatis homines narrare solent, quod me legere memini.<sup>2</sup> Quae cum ita sint, ipsius Buecheleri verbis licet utamur: 'Licuit in hoc genere fabularum, quod a morosa subtilitate alienum ingenuam sequitur festivitatem, et antiquiora et posteriora neglegentius admiscere.' Quae ille de vino Opimiano Trimalchionis scripsit; at pace tanti viri dixerim, multo magis in hunc locum conveniunt.<sup>3</sup>

Alterum argumentum quod Buechelerus profert multo speciosius est. Trimalchio enim haec verba dicit (c. 71): 'Inscriptio quoque vide diligenter si haec satis idonea tibi videtur: C. Pompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus hic requiescit.' Quo de loco scripsit Buechelerus: 'Deinde Maecenatianus Trimalchio vocatur: fuerat igitur ut parvulus puer ex Asia venit Romam, in manu Maecenatis anno urbis 746 mortui, ante quam in familiam Gai Pompei, hominis Campani,

<sup>1</sup> Praef. ed. maior. p. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Eadem fabula de Gallo Richelieu narratur; cf. Wallace-Dunlop. 'Glass in the Old World,' p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mommsen. Hermes XIII. p. 112: 'Denn, selbst die historische Richtigkeit des wenig plausiblen Geschichtchens zugegeben, konnte der Dichter sehr wohl chronologisch in freierer Weise mit ihm schalten.'

adsumptus est. Huic domino, a quo et ipse et colliberti nomen traxere, quattuordecim annos erat ad delicias, plures etiam serviebat: denique manu missus et per hereditatem atque negotiationem fortunis locupletatus luxu transigebat primam senectutem vitaeque restare annos triginta sibi persuaserat, cum Encolpios in coloniam eiusque domum devertit. Haec si contenderis cum agnomine<sup>1</sup> Maecenatiani, in definiendo tempore cenae vix poteris ultra imperium Tiberii progredi.<sup>2</sup> Haec quidem et speciosa sunt et nostrae sententiae repugnant. Nam Trimalchio tempore cenae 'senex calvus' erat (c. 27) vitaeque restare 'annos triginta et menses quattuor et dies duos' sibi persuaserat (c. 77; cf. cc. 75, 76). Itaque illo tempore quadraginta certe annos natus erat, aut potius ad quinquagesimum vel sexagesimum annum pervenerat. Quae cum ita sint, si cenam circiter A.U.C. 740 actam esse recte statuimus, ille non 'fuerat ut parvulus puer ex Asia venit Romam, in manu Maecenatis'; tunc enim, ut videtur, et ipse Maecenas 'parvulus puer' erat.<sup>3</sup> Sed praeter ipsum cognomen nulla profecto causa est cur Trimalchionem clarissimo illo Maecenati, Augusti amico, umquam servisse putes.<sup>4</sup> Nam Trimalchio quamquam de servitute sua liberrime loquitur (cc. 69, 75, 76), nihil tamen de Maecenata dicit, nihil de priore domino.<sup>5</sup> Sed quis credere potest Trimalchionem nihil de potentia et divitiis Maecenatis dicturum esse, si quidem ei umquam servisset? Fortasse tamen Trimalchio alii Maecenati servierat; erant enim et alii.<sup>6</sup> Sed nobis quidem multo verisimilius videtur Petronium in talibus rebus non ita curiosum fuisse.

<sup>1</sup> Cognomen est, non agnomen; nam verbum illud 'agnomen' finxerunt grammatici.

<sup>2</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VII.

<sup>3</sup> Maecenatem circiter A.U.C. 685 natum esse probabiliter conclusit Meibomius in Vit. Maecenatis.

<sup>4</sup> Orellius Trimalchionem Maecenatis liberti libertum fuisse putabat (Inscr. Lat. I. p. 287); perperam tamen, ut infra demonstrabimus.

<sup>5</sup> Dominus cui Trimalchio quattuordecim annos ad delicias fuerat cuique heres factus erat (cc. 75, 76) Gaius Pompeius fuit. Cave tamen putes eum propinquum Cn. Pompei Magni fuisse; nam Pompei Magni familia Gaio praenomine non utebatur (Mommsen. Hermes XIII. p. 118). Trimalchionem puerum Romae fuisse ex capite 29 ('Ipse Trimalchio capillatus . . . Romam intrabant') coniecerunt viri docti; sed ipse Trimalchio nihil tale dicit.

<sup>6</sup> C. Maecenas, eques Romanus, commemoratur a Cicerone, Or. pro Cluentio, 56, 153. Quem patrem clari illius Maecenatis fuisse non recte coniecerunt viri

Gravia autem sunt quae Mommsenus de servorum et libertorum cognominibus protulit. Is enim conlatis exemplis rem sic exposuit.<sup>1</sup> Imperatorum propinqui et viri potentium nobiliumque gentium per multos servos habebant, inter quos multi eiusdem cognominis erant. Itaque quo facilius distinguerentur, moris erat ut servi qui a viris potentissimarum gentium emerentur sua quisque cognomina a priorum dominorum nominibus cognominibusve tracta acciperent. Neque tamen cognomina quae antea habuerant amittebant, sed novum cognomen priori adiungebatur. Qui autem liberti facti erant simili de causa duo cognomina habebant. Itaque si qui de libertis duo cognomina possidebant, paulo honestiores ceteris habebantur quod nobilissimorum et ditissimorum virorum liberti essent.

Haec fere Mommsenus;<sup>2</sup> quibus pensitatis credimus Petronium duobus de causis Maecenatiani cognomen Trimalchioni dedisse, ut et adrogantiam et mollietatem eius salsissime ostenderet. Nam et adrogantis hominis erat alterum cognomen arbitrio suo sibi adsumere quo honestior videretur, et Maecenas mollietatis famosissimus erat.<sup>3</sup> Licet autem Trimalchionem Maecenatiani cognomen domi inter cives suos non habuisse suspiceris. Nam in fascibus seviralibus, qui in postibus triclinii fixi erant, hoc erat scriptum (c. 30): 'C. Pompeio Trimalchioni, seviro Augustali, Cinnamus dispensator.' Sed si Trimalchio alterum cognomen iure habuisset, constat Cinnamum eo usum fuisse quo maiorem honorem domino suo daret. Atque, ut supra diximus, Trimalchio nihil de Maecenate dicit. Itaque, nisi fallimur, homo ille iactantissimus, quamquam re vera Maecenati numquam servierat, tamen Maecenatiani cognomen in monumento suo inscribi voluit quo

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docti; patri enim amici Augusti Lucio praenomen erat; C. I. L. VI. 21771. Scriba autem Sertori Maecenas appellatus est; Sallust. ap. Servium ad Aen. I. 698.

<sup>1</sup> Hermes II. 158; XIII. 117; cf. Marquardt. 'Privatleben d. Röm.,' ed. alt. I. pp. 21-2; Willmann. Ex. Inscr. Lat., II. pp. 404-5.

<sup>2</sup> Nihil tamen ad rem pertinent quae Mommsenus (Hermes XIII. p. 118) de gente Maecenatis dicit; nam quamquam equestri genere natus est, tamen servos quos Augusto et Liviae testamento reliquerat Maecenatiani cognomen datum est (C. I. L. VI. 4016; 4032; 4095). Est autem titulus, Minturnis inventus (C. I. L. X. 6014): 'Baebiae P. f. Priscae P. Baebi Patrophili T. Numisii Numisiani Maecenatiani ponendam mandavit. L. d. d. d.' Hunc Numisium libertum fuisse cuiusdam T. Numisi qui eum a Maecenate aut emisset aut accepisset, licet conicias.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Iuv. Sat. I. 66; XII. 39; Sen. Epist. Mor. 114, 4-8.

honestior advenis legentibus videretur. Quod et reliquae eius insolentiae optime convenit. Itaque Maecenatiani cognomen nobis non adversatur.

Sed apud Petronium (c. 78) et haec scripta legimus: 'Itaque vigiles, qui custodiebant vicinam regionem, rati ardere Trimalchionis domum, effregerunt ianuam subito et cum aqua securibusque tumultuari suo iure coeperunt.' Ex quo Ludovicus Friedlaenderus cenam Trimalchionis Puteolis agi conclusit,<sup>1</sup> conlato loco Suetoni (Vit. Claud. 25): 'Puteolis et Ostiae singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit' (Claudius). Quae ratio nostrae sententiae quam maxime repugnat. At Buechelerus Friedlaenderi opinionem praeclare sic refutavit:<sup>2</sup> 'Nihil enimvero cogit ut in illis militari more institutos ab Augusto vigiles respici credamus. Nonne Amphitruonis aetate, si dis placet, Thebis 'rex Creo vigiles nocturnos singulos semper locat?'<sup>3</sup> Nonne Agrigenti cum Verres templum spoliatur iret, vigiles fanique custodes sustulere clamorem?<sup>4</sup> Nonne Romae ante Augustum tres viri nocturni vigilibus et vigilibus praeerant?<sup>5</sup> Itaque cohors vigilum defuit Neapoli, defuisse vigiles qui noctu regionem custodirent inhibendorum incendiorum caussa frequentiori urbi cuiquam nego.' Accedit quod in Luguduni et Nemausi inscriptionibus praefecti vigilum commemorantur, ut Mommsenus demonstravit.<sup>6</sup> Denique ipse Friedlaenderus opinionem priorem nuper reiecit.<sup>7</sup> Itaque non operae pretium est hanc rem fusius tractare.

Deinde tangenda sunt quae Petronius de arte picturae scripsit (cc. 2, 83, 88). Qua de re Beckius copiose doctèque disputavit;<sup>8</sup> neque tamen sine errore. Nam Plinius et Petronius de picturae exitu optime inter se consentiunt; qua ex re Beckius hunc saturas composuisse paulo ante quam ille Historiam Naturalem confecisset concludere voluit.<sup>9</sup> At non solum Plinius sed etiam Vitruvius, qui Augusti tempo-

<sup>1</sup> Praef. Ind. Schol. Regiomont. hiemis anni 1860-61.

<sup>2</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Plaut. Amph. I. 1, 195.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. Verr. Act. II. Lib. IV. 43, 94.

<sup>5</sup> Mommsen. 'Staatsrecht,' ed. alt. vol. II. p. 580 adn.; cf. Schol. ad Iuv. Sat. 13, 157.

<sup>6</sup> Hermes XIII. p. 112; C. I. L. XII. nn. 3002, 3210, 3223, 3232, 3247, 3259, 3274, 3296, 3166.

<sup>7</sup> 'Jahresber. ü. d. Fortschr. d. Alterthümswissenschaft,' 1878, 2 d. Th. p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> 'Age of Petronius Arbiter,' pp. 52-4; cf. 87-9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 102; cf. p. 53.

ribus floruit, dilapsam picturae artem deploravit.<sup>1</sup> Itaque quamquam Petronius Neronis temporibus vixisse videtur, tamen non mirum est si Encolpium et Eumolpum de picturae exitu circiter A.U.C. 740 locutos esse finxit. Beckius autem putat ipsum Petronium Zeuxidis et Apellis et Protogenis tabulas Romae vidisse indeque eas ad urbem Campaniae quasi fictione quadam transtulisse.<sup>2</sup> At fortasse tabulae illae Augusti temporibus in urbe Campaniae fuerant;<sup>3</sup> quod cum sciret Petronius, Encolpium ibi eas vidisse finxit.

Trimalchio autem sevir Augustalis fuit (c. 30; cf. 71) et Hermeros sevir gratis factus est (c. 57). Itaque operae pretium est quaerere quo tempore Augustalium ordo institutus sit. Qua de re viri docti multum diuque dissenserunt. Sed ut vetera et incerta omittamus, tres inscriptiones inventae sunt<sup>4</sup> ex quibus constat ordinem illum ante Augustum mortuum constitutum esse. His autem pensatis, Mommsenus ordinem priore parte Augusti principatus ortum esse probabiliter conclusit.<sup>5</sup> Quod etsi incertius est, tamen nostram sententiam confirmare videtur. Nam quod origo Augustalium etiam nunc obscura est,<sup>6</sup> necesse est ad optimam rationem confugiamus. Hoc tamen vel certissimum est, neminem Augustalium ordinem post id tempus constitutum esse umquam demonstravisse.

Est autem fragmentum Petroni in vetere glossario (fr. XVI. Buech.): 'Satis constaret eos nisi inclinatos non solere transire cryptam Neapolitanam.'<sup>7</sup> Ex quo coniciat aliquis Encolpium post

<sup>1</sup> Vitruv. VII. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 'Age of Petronius Arbiter,' p. 52; cf. p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. XXXV. 147: 'Iaia cyzicena . . . pinxit Neapoli anum in grandi tabula.' Pinacothecam autem Neapolitanam commemorat Philostratus (proem. ad 'Imagines' c. 4); sed ille Severi temporibus vixit; cf. Suid. s. v. Philostratus. Fortasse tamen pinacothecas et tabulas clarorum pictorum in urbibus Campaniae fuisse licet concludas.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L. III. 1769; V. 3404; X. 6104 (= 'Bull. dell' Inst.' 1873, p. 87). Cf. Marquardt. 'Staatsverwaltung,' ed. alt. I. p. 200 adn. 1; Schmidt. de Seviris August. pp. 123-4; Hirschfeld. 'Zeitschrift f. Oest. Gymnasien,' 1878, p. 289 seqq.

<sup>5</sup> 'Staatsrecht,' III. p. 454 adn. 1: 'Nimmt man hinzu dass zwischen der Einrichtung und ihrem Auftreten auf den Inschriften doch ein gewisser Zeitraum liegen muss, so wird man eher geneigt sein sie in die frühere als in die spätere Periode Augusts zu setzen.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Marq. 'Staatsverwaltung,' ed. alt. I. p. 197 seqq.; Schmidt. de Sev. Aug. p. 122 seqq. 'Adhuc sub iudice lis est.'

<sup>7</sup> Hoc fragmentum, quod Danielus in vetere glossario S. Dionysi invenit, ex quarto decimo libro saturarum tractum esse coniecit Buechelerus (ed. maior. p. 211).



Cryptam Neapolitanam factam in Campania fuisse. Itaque ne quis putet hoc fragmentum nostrae sententiae repugnare, quaerendum est quo tempore Crypta Neapolitana fossa sit. Qua de re nihil certum traditur nisi Strabonis testimonium (p. 245): τοῦ Κοκκηίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὴν διώρυγα ἐκείνην<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ Δικαιαρχίας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαίαις. Sed L. Cocceius cuniculum Cumis fecit circiter A.U.C. 717;<sup>2</sup> igitur si Crypta Neapolitana eodem fere tempore facta est, ut Belochius coniecit, nulla profecto causa est cur illud fragmentum nobis opponatur.

Deinde e locis quos Studerus protulit<sup>3</sup> unus contra nos facere videtur. Pedes enim convivarum Trimalchionis a pueris ungebantur (c. 70); quo de more Plinius (Hist. Nat. XIII. 22) haec scribit: 'Vidimus etiam vestigia pedum tingui, quod monstrasse M. Othonem Neroni principi ferebant.' Quem locum protulit Studerus quo Petronium Neronis temporibus vixisse probaret. Sed quamquam Petronius tunc vixisse a plerisque creditur, tamen locus ille satirarum nihil tale indicat. Scripsit enim Petronius: 'Pudet referre quae secuntur: *inaudito enim more* pueri capillati attulerunt unguentum in argentea pelve pedesque recumbentium unxerunt.' Ex quo adparet pedes ungere tunc mirum et inusitatum fuisse. Itaque non est quod hunc locum ad Neronis tempora spectare putes.

Est autem mirum quoddam fragmentum (XVIII. Buech.): 'Affer nobis, inquit, alabastrum Cosmiani.' Sed Cosmus, unguentarius notissimus, Martialis et Iuvenalis temporibus vixit.<sup>4</sup> Itaque hoc fragmentum non solum nostrae opinioni sed etiam Burmanni et Becki et Buecheleri sententiis adversatur. Sed a Perotto, recentioris aetatis scriptore,<sup>5</sup> traditur; atque, id quod Buechelerus praeclare demonstravit,<sup>6</sup> iam inde a septimo post Christum saeculo nemo pleniorum quam nos Petronium in manibus habuit. Itaque paene constat hoc

<sup>1</sup> Sc. τὴν ἐπὶ Κόμῳ. Cf. Beloch. 'Campanien,' p. 131. Hic locus Strabonis suspectus est (cf. Duebner. in ed. Didot. Strabonis, p. 973). Belochius tamen eum vindicat ('Camp.' p. 84).

<sup>2</sup> Cass. Dio XLVIII. 50; cf. Strab. p. 245. De L. Cocceio cf. C. I. L. X. 1614; 3707.

<sup>3</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Mart. I. 87, 2; III. 82, 25-6; XI. 8, 9; XII. 65, 4-5; XIV. 59; 110, et al.; Iuv. Sat. VIII. 86 et Schol.

<sup>5</sup> 'Cornu copiae' Nicolai Perotti editum est circiter A.D. 1513.

<sup>6</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. XI.

fragmentum errore Petronio a Perotto adtributum esse ; qua de causa Buechelerus stellula id denotavit.

Deinde nomina virorum et feminarum quae apud Petronium inveniuntur tractanda sunt. His enim viri docti saepe abusi sunt ad suas sententias probandas. Itaque nonnumquam in miros errores inciderunt ; quorum unum exempli causa adponemus. Magnus ille Niebuhrius<sup>1</sup> sibi persuaserat Petronium Severi imperatoris temporibus vixisse ; quod ex inscriptione quadam (Orelli n. 1175) temere coniecerat, deceptus similitudine nominum. Itaque ut sententiam suam probaret, locum Petroni (c. 69) adtulit : 'Sic me salvum habeatis ut ego sic solebam ipsam Mammaeam debattuere ut etiam dominus suspicaretur ; quem ad Mammaeam, Severi matrem spectare credidit. Sed Buechelerus veram lectionem 'ipsam meam,' id est *dominam meam*, revocavit.

Sed ut ad rem revertamur, seriem nominum quae in quaestionem veniunt hic adponemus.

(1) In editione Buecheleri legimus (Fr. VI.) : ' (Satura) sola est quae modum imponit furentibus, licet Petroniana subet *Albucia*.' Hanc Albuciam eandem fuisse quae a Tacito (Ann. VI. 47, 48) commemoratur coniecit Munckerus.<sup>2</sup> Sed haec coniectura vel incertissima est. Primum enim feminae cuius Tacitus meminit non Albuciae nomen erat sed Albucillae. Deinde hoc fragmentum ex opere Fulgenti, hominis neglegentissimi et levissimi,<sup>3</sup> tractum est ; qua de causa Buechelerus stellulam ei ut dubio adposuit. Denique similitudo nominum nullo modo sufficit ad rem probandam nisi et aliis argumentis confirmatur.

(2) Haec quoque apud Petronium (c. 64) legimus : ' Quid saltare ? Quid diverbia ? Quid tonstrinum ? Quando parem habui nisi unum Apelletem ? ' Hunc locum ad Apellem tragoedum<sup>4</sup> qui Gai Caesaris temporibus floruit quemque Cassius Dio (LIX. 5) τὸν εὐδοκίμωτατον

<sup>1</sup> 'Denkschriften d. Berlin. Akad.,' 1823, II. p. 251 seqq.; cf. Studer. Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 71; Beck. 'Age of Petronius Arbiter,' pp. 35, 36; Buecheler. praef. ad ed. maior. p. III.; Mommsen. Herm. XIII. p. 106 adn.; Orelli Inscr. Lat. I. p. 257. <sup>2</sup> Ad Fulgentium I. p. 23; cf. Studer, Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Zink. 'Fulgentius,' p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sueton. Calig. 33: 'Inter varios iocos cum assistens simulacrum Iovis Apellem tragoedum consulisset uter illi maior videretur, cunctantem flagellis discidit, collaudans subinde vocem quasi etiam in gemitu perdulcem.'

τῶν τότε τραγῳδῶν fuisse dicit, pertinere coniecit Studerus.<sup>1</sup> Vereor tamen ne hoc incertius sit quam quod pro vero accipiatur. Nam si modo verba Trimalchionis: 'Tibi dico Plocame, nihil narras? Nihil nos delectaris? Et solebas suavius esse, belle *diverbia* dicere, *melica* canturire,' cum verbis Plocami: 'Quid saltare? Quid *diverbia*? Quid *tonstrinum*?' conferes, Plocamum comoedias recitare solitum esse concludes. 'Diverbia' enim comoediae<sup>2</sup> partes erant, trimetris iambicis scriptae, quae sine cantu et tibiis recitabantur; et nisi fallimur 'melica' vox hoc loco ad cantica comoediarum pertinet. Quid autem 'tonstrinum' vox significet non satis liquet; sed fortasse, id quod vir doctissimus mihi nuper proposuit, nomen erat mimi quem Plocamus agere solitus fuerat.<sup>3</sup> Itaque si his in rebus Plocamus nullum parem habuit nisi unum Apellem, paene efficitur hunc Apellem non tragoedum sed comicum fuisse. Accedit quod 'Apelles'<sup>4</sup> et cetera eiusmodi nomina saepissime nobis occurrunt et apud scriptores antiquos et in titulis. Denique sine dubio multi comici et tragoedi fuerunt quorum nomina tantum servata sunt,<sup>5</sup> multi etiam quorum ne nomina quidem novimus. Quae cum ita sint, non est quod verba Plocami ad 'Apellem tragoedum' spectare concludas.

(3) Deinde Trimalchio talia iactat (c. 52): 'Nam Hermerotis pugnas et Petraitis in poculis habeo, omnia ponderosa; meum enim intelligere nulla pecunia vendo.' Cf. c. 71; 'Valde te rogo ut secundum pedes statucae meae catellam ponas et coronas et unguenta

<sup>1</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diomed. p. 491 Keil: Donat. de Comoedia ad fin. et al. Sed scriptores antiqui nusquam, quod sciam, tragoediae partes 'diverbia' esse adfirmant. Quod casui tribuendum esse non videtur. Cf. tamen Ribbeck, 'Römische Tragödie,' pp. 633-7.

<sup>3</sup> Nescio an hoc vocabulum idem fere significet quod 'tonstrina'; cf. 'pistrinum,' 'pistrina,' 'ustrinum,' 'ustrina.' Sed fortasse 'artificium' subaudiendum est; quod confirmari videtur alio loco saturarum ubi 'tonstreinum' vox pro tonstrino artificio ponitur (c. 46). Utcumque hoc erit, puto Plocamum mimum vel partem comoediae in qua tonsores deridebantur eo verbo designasse. Nisi forte volgus scaenam in qua credulus homo probe decipiebatur 'tonstrinum' vocabant (cf. Plaut. Bacch. II. 3, 8: 'Tondebo . . . usque ad vivam cutem.') Buechelerus autem verbum aliter explicare conatus est (ed. tert. p. 134).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Forcell. Onomast. s.v. 'Apelles'; C. I. L. IX. 834; 2129; 6079; 5089; X. 1403; 3877; 7618; 8056 et mult. al.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Ephesum tragoedum,' c. 70.

et Petratis omnes pugnās.' Studerus autem coniecit Hermerotem eundem esse qui in titulo quodam Claudianae aetatis<sup>1</sup> commemoratur. Sed alter Hermeros, cuius pugnās Trimalchio in poculis habuit, gladiator fuisse videtur; alter autem, cuius nomen in titulo legitur, 'ab marmoribus magister' Claudio erat. Praeterea nomen 'Hermeros' a Petronio cuidam conliberto Trimalchionis datur (c. 59) atque in titulis Campanis saepe legitur.<sup>2</sup> Itaque Studeri coniectura non modo incerta sed etiam temeraria videtur. Ille autem verbum 'Petratis' errore pro 'Pheronactis' scriptum esse putavit, conlato loco Senecae (Apocolocynt. Claud. 13) ubi Pheronactes,<sup>3</sup> Claudii libertus, nomine memoratur. At Friedlaenderus multo probabilius coniecit<sup>4</sup> 'Tetratis' scribendum esse; nam gladiatoris nomen Tetrates legitur in titulo Pompeiano (C. I. L. IV. 538). Itaque haec quoque Studeri coniectura reiicienda est.

(4) Laenatis gladiatorium munus in pariete domus Trimalchionis pictum erat (c. 29). Itaque Burmannus<sup>5</sup> locum Frontini (de Aquaed. c. 102) confert ubi C. Octavius Laenas A.U.C. 786 curator aquarum fuisse dicitur; Studerus<sup>6</sup> autem dubitanter adfert nomen Vipsani Laenatis, qui A.U.C. 809 ob Sardiniam avare habitam damnatus est (Tac. Ann. XIII. 30). At Laenate cognomine quattuor certe gentes, Popillia,<sup>7</sup> Octavia, Vipsania, Pontiana, utebantur. Fortasse autem Laenas ille cuius munus in pariete pictum erat

<sup>1</sup> Gruter. Inscr. p. XXV. 12; C. I. L. XI. 3199: 'Hermeros Ti. Claudii Caisaris Aug. Germanici ser. Thyamidianus ab marmorib(us) magister Feroniae aras quinque d. s. d. d.' Hunc titulum Studerus neglegenter descripsit neglegentiusque tractavit. Talia enim scripsit (Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 221): 'Möglicherweise könnte der Hermeros, dessen Kampfspiele auf Trimalchios Trinkbechern gravirt waren, eine Person sein mit jenem bei Gruter p. XXV. 12 auf einer Inschrift erwähnten Hermeros, Tib. Claudii libertus, a marmoribus, et (!) magister Feroniae.' Sed verba 'ab marmoribus magister' coniungenda sunt. Cf. C. I. L. VI. 8512; Willmann. n. 2646.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L. IV. 1254; 1256; 2192; 2195; X. 528; 1565; 1599; 2652; 2707.

<sup>3</sup> Hoc nomen dubium est; nam in codice Sangallensi 'pheronactis' legitur. Buechelerus in editione 'Pheronactis' maluit.

<sup>4</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. X. p. 553. Friedlaenderi sententiam acceperunt Buechelerus (ed. tert. p. 34 adnot.) et Zangemeisterus (ad C. I. L. IV. 538).

<sup>5</sup> Adnot. ad c. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 220.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Appian. Bell. Civ. II. 115-16; IV. 19; Cass. Dion. LVII. 11.

libertus fuit; quod ipse Burmannus probabilius esse concessit.<sup>1</sup> Itaque non est quod hic locus Petroni nobis opponatur.

(5) Est autem et alius locus (c. 73): 'Deinde ut lassatus consecret, invitatus balnei sono diduxit usque ad cameram os ebrium et coepit Menecratis cantica lacerare, sicut illi dicebant qui linguam eius intellegebant'; quem locum Studerus<sup>2</sup> et Buechelerus<sup>3</sup> ad citharoedum Menecratem, quem Nero viri triumphalis patrimonio donavit,<sup>4</sup> pertinere coniecerunt. Sed haec opinio vel incertissima est: nomen enim 'Menecrates' saepissime apud scriptores antiquos legitur.<sup>5</sup> Accedit quod Suidas<sup>6</sup> dicit Menecratem quendam comoedias scripsisse; ad quem Beckius<sup>7</sup> verba Petroni spectare coniecit.

(6) Dominus autem Trimalchionis Gaius Pompeius vocatus est.<sup>8</sup> Itaque Studerus locum Taciti<sup>9</sup> adfert quo C. Pompeius consul fuisse (A.U.C. 802) dicitur. Sed praenomen huius Pompei dubium est; nam in Fastis Antiatribus legitur: 'Q. Veranio A. Pompeio Gallo coss.' Accedit quod nomen 'C. Pompeius' saepe legitur in titulis, ut Studerus recte dicit. Quae cum ita sint, Studeri coniectura incerta esse videtur, praesertim cum dominus Trimalchionis Campanus fuerit.

(7) Deinde apud Petronium legimus (c. 77): 'Ad summam, Scaurus cum huc venit nusquam mavoluit hospitari, et habet ad mare paternum hospitium.' Hunc esse Aemilium Scaurum Mamercum, qui A.U.C. 787 sibi mortem conscivit,<sup>10</sup> coniecit Beckius;<sup>11</sup> quod nostrae sententiae non repugnat. Nam quo anno Scaurus Mamercus natus sit non traditum est; sed nihil, quod sciam, impedit quin eum

<sup>1</sup> Adnot. ad c. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. vit. Ner. c. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Pauly 'Real-Encyclopaedie' s. v. 'Menecrates.'

<sup>6</sup> Suid. s.v. *Μενεκράτης*: *Μενεκράτης κωμικός. δράματα αὐτοῦ Μανέντωρ ἢ Ἑρμογενέος.*

<sup>7</sup> 'Age of Petronius Arbiter,' p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. 'C. Pompeius Trimalchio,' cc. 30, 71; 'C. Pompeius Diogenes,' c. 38. Hi liberti nomen a domino traxerunt.

<sup>9</sup> Tac. Ann. XII. 5: 'C. Pompeio Q. Veranio consulibus.' Cf. Solin. I. 29: 'C. Pompeius Gallus et Q. Veranius.' Frontinus autem (de Aquaed. 102) huic Pompeio cognomen Longum adtribuit. Sed Studerus eum C. Pompeium 'Longinum' perperam appellat.

<sup>10</sup> Tac. Ann. VI. 29; Cass. Dio LVIII. 24. Studerus Scaurum *Neronis* temporibus mortuum esse scribit (Mus. Rhen.) lapsu calami, ut puto.

<sup>11</sup> 'Age of Petronius Arbiter,' pp. 81-3.

A.U.C. 740 iuvenem iam famosum fuisse putemus. Quod si quis parum probabile esse censet, licet locum Petroni ad M. Aemilium Scaurum, Mamerci patrem, spectare credat.<sup>1</sup> Scauro autem cognomine et aliae gentes, Terentia et Aurelia, utebantur. Sed nisi fallimur, verba Trimalchionis ad aliquem ex Aemiliis Scauris pertinent; ii enim et ditissimi et luxuriosissimi fuisse traduntur.

(8) Denique Trimalchio haec dicit (c. 76): 'Et sane nolentem me negotium meum agere exhortavit mathematicus, qui venerat forte in coloniam nostram, Graeculio, Serapa nomine, consiliator deorum.' Sed Caracallae temporibus Serapio quidam notus mathematicus fuit; itaque Ignarra<sup>2</sup> his nominibus usus est quibus Petronium Antoninorum temporibus scripsisse probaret. Non recte; primum enim temporum ratio nullo modo convenit. Deinde nomina illa 'Serapa' et 'Serapio' inter se dissimilia sunt. Denique nulla fere aetas maiorem fidem mathematicis adhibuit quam aetas Augusti.<sup>3</sup> Quae cum ita sint, Ignarrae opinio omnino reicienda est.

Haec nomina viri docti saepe protulerunt ad opiniones suas probandas. Sed quam incerta quamque diversa talia argumenta sint nemo non videt. Itaque ut certa incertis opponantur, quaerendum est quae nomina apud Petronium inveniri possint quae sine dubio ad claros viros pertineant. Quorum haec fere ad rem spectant: nam antiquiorum nomina licet omittamus.

(Antistius) Labeo, iure consultus . . . . .	c. 137.
Augustus, imperator <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	c. 69.
(M. Claudius) Marcellus, consul A.U.C. 703 . . . . .	c. 124.
(L. Cornelius) Lentulus (Crus), consul A.U.C. 705 . . . . .	c. 124.
(Q.) Horatius (Flaccus) . . . . .	c. 118.
(C.) Julius Caesar . . . . .	cc. 120; 122; 123; 124.
(M. Licinius) Crassus . . . . .	c. 120.
(Cn. Pompeius) Magnus . . . . .	cc. 123; 124.
(M. Porcius) Cato (Uticensis) . . . . .	c. 119.

<sup>1</sup> Hic Scaurus bellorum civilium temporibus prius Bruti et Cassi partes secutus est, deinde Sexti Pompei; sed postea illo relicto ad M. Antonium transfugit, ut tradit Appianus (Bell. Civ. V. 142). Augustus autem post proelium Actiacum ei veniam dedit; cf. Dion. LI. 2; LVI. 38; Drumann. 'Gesch. Roms,' I. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Tiberi temporibus mathematici tam multi tamque molesti facti erant ut ex senatus consulto expellerentur; Tac. Ann. II. 32; Sueton. Vit. Tib. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Fortasse Caesar cuius Trimalchio c. 51 meminit Augustus est.

Publius Syrus, mimus . . . . .	c. 55; cf. 52.
(C. Scribonius) Curio, tribunus pl. A.U.C. 704 . . . . .	c. 124.
Servius (Sulpicius Rufus), consul A.U.C. 703, iure consultus . . . . .	c. 137
(M. Tullius) Cicero . . . . .	cc. 3; 5; 55.
(P.) Vergilius (Maro) . . . . .	cc. 68; 118.

Hi omnes Ciceronis et Augusti aetate vixerunt. Itaque haec nomina nostram sententiam confirmare videntur.

Deinde Buecheleri sententia tractanda est. Ille enim talia scripsit :<sup>1</sup> 'Licuit vero in hoc genere fabularum, quod a morosa subtilitate alienum ingenuam sequitur festivitatem, et antiquiora et posteriora paulo neglegentius admiscere, velut p. 148, 4 iter facientes dicuntur a vilico quaesivisse, quod genus negotiationis Crotoniatae praecipue probarent post attritas bellis frequentibus opes tamquam etiam tum civitas illa in sua, non in populi Romani potestate atque universa Italia non dudum pacata esset, et p. 76. 10 Plocamus adolescentulum se gloriatur in cantando parem non habuisse nisi unum Apellem, familiarem Caligulae celeberrimumque inter aequales tragoedum (Cassius Dio LVIII. 5), et p. 86. 19 Trimalchio cantica fertur lacerasse Menecratis, si hic est Menecrates quem citharoedum Nero triumphalium virorum donavit (Suetonius Neronis cap. 30).' Itaque si Buechelerum sequeris, hanc rerum et temporum seriem habebitis :

Croton in populi Romani potestatem revenit circiter . . . . .	A.U.C. 560.
Vinum Opimianum annorum centum fuit . . . . .	A.U.C. 733. <sup>2</sup>
Petronius finxit Encolpi itinera incidisse in ultimos annos quibus regnabat . . . . .	Tiberius.
Apelles floruit regnante . . . . .	Gaio.
Menecrates floruit regnante . . . . .	Nerone.

At quamquam concedendum est scriptores antiquos in talibus rebus neglegentiores fuisse, tamen Petronium lectores tam aperte tamque audacter ludificatum esse pernegare ausus sim. Quod si Encolpius Augusti temporibus in Campaniam venisse fingitur, hae difficultates facile evitari possunt.

De sermone autem saturarum nihil scribendum statuimus ; nam id quod Buechelerus adfirmat, genus sermonis artemque metrorum non

<sup>1</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Huic rei Buechelerus paene nullam auctoritatem tribuit.

in aliud atque Neronianum tempus convenire, iam satis ab aliis demonstratum est. Atque si Petronius aliquanto simplicius scripsit quam ceteri eiusdem aetatis auctores, hoc partim imitationi eius sermonis quo Augusti aetate scriptores utebantur, partim ipsius hominis ingenio et indoli adtribuendum est.

Quae cum ita sint, multa argumenta nostram sententiam confirmant; eaque quae ad alias sententias probandas viri docti adduxerunt incertiora esse videntur quam quae pro veris et certis accipiuntur. Itaque licet conligamus Petronium eam partem saturarum quae hodie exstat circiter A.U.C. 740 actam esse sine dubio voluisse.

Haec fere sunt quae de tempore saturarum dicenda putaremus. Reliquum est ut quaeramus qua in urbe Trimalchio habitavit. Sed de hac re perdifficili viri docti multum diuque certaverunt; quo magis vereor ne γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας, quod dicunt, ferre videar. Ut cumque hoc erit, primum est de argumentis quae apud Petronium inventa sunt, tum de rationibus quas huius aetatis homines ad suas sententias probandas adduxerunt, disserendum.

Principio miro quodam casu nomen urbis in qua Trimalchio habitavit nusquam apud Petronium servatum est. Sunt tamen nonnulla indicia ad urbem pertinentia; quae haec fere sunt.

In Campania erat, ad mare<sup>1</sup> sita, neque longe aberat a Baiis<sup>2</sup> Capuave.<sup>3</sup> Coloniam autem in urbem deductam esse ex quattuor locis<sup>4</sup> adparet, atque inter magistratus urbanos aediles<sup>5</sup> erant. Severorum autem conlegium in colonia erat; nam Trimalchio sevir Augustalis,<sup>6</sup> Hermeros et Habinnas sevir<sup>7</sup> vocantur. Deinde urbs ipsa in regiones<sup>8</sup> erat divisa vigilesque<sup>9</sup> habebat qui ad incendia res-

<sup>1</sup> *Ed. tert. Buecheleri* c. 81, p. 55, ll. 5-6; cf. c. 77, p. 52, l. 24; c. 90, p. 61, l. 4; c. 99, p. 68, ll. 3-8; c. 114, p. 80, ll. 8-10.

<sup>2</sup> C. 53, p. 35, l. 19; cf. c. 104, p. 71, l. 27.

<sup>3</sup> C. 62, p. 41, l. 9.

<sup>4</sup> C. 44, p. 29, ll. 26, 34; c. 57, p. 38, l. 13; c. 76, p. 52, l. 7.

<sup>5</sup> C. 44, p. 29, ll. 10, 27; c. 53, p. 35, l. 16; cf. c. 45. Quod magistratus urbis 'praetor' ab advena Encolpio (c. 65, p. 43, l. 32) dicitur haud ita multum auctoritatis habere sentio.

<sup>6</sup> C. 30, p. 21, l. 7; cf. c. 71, p. 48, l. 25. <sup>7</sup> C. 57, p. 38, l. 4; c. 65, p. 43, l. 35.

<sup>8</sup> C. 78, p. 53, l. 8; cf. c. 17, p. 14, ll. 6, 16-17.

<sup>9</sup> C. 78, p. 53, l. 8.



tinguenda noctu eas custodirent. Denique 'Graeca urbs,'<sup>1</sup> cui nomini multi vel nimium auctoritatis tribuerunt, ab Encolpio appellatur. Haec omnia utpote in propatulo posita apud multos plurimum valuerunt.

Sed et alia sunt, minus aperta quidem, neque tamen eo negligenda. Quorum vel praecipuum est quod pleraque in colonia Trimalchionis Romana erant.<sup>2</sup> Populus enim coloniae Latine loquebatur; cuius rei permulta sunt argumenta. Nam liberti et infimae plebis homines Latine loqui solebant; quod ex sermonibus convivarum Trimalchionis satis adparet. Plocamus enim se Graecum carmen cantare simulavit;<sup>3</sup> quod ineptissimum omnium fuisset si plerique in colonia Graece loqui soliti essent. Encolpius autem Homeristas dicit<sup>4</sup> Graecis versibus conlocutos esse 'ut insolenter solent'; quod dum faciebant Trimalchio Latine legebat librum. At haec verba plane inepta fuissent si homines coloniae Graece locuti essent. Servus autem Habinnatis Aeneida recitavit et Atellanicos versus intermiscuit.<sup>5</sup> Accedit quod ipse Trimalchio Syri versus recitavit eumque cum Cicerone contulit.<sup>6</sup> Et scissorem suum Carpum nominaverat; itaque quotiescumque dixit 'Carpe, Carpe,' eodem verbo et vocavit et imperavit.<sup>7</sup> Comoedos autem emerat, sed maluit illos Atellaniam facere et choraulem suum iussit Latine cantare.<sup>8</sup> Praeterea homo quidam coloniae hoc titulo causam proscriptis: 'C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iuliis cenaculum locat; ipse enim domum emit.'<sup>9</sup> Deinde in poste ianuae domus Trimalchionis libellus erat cum hac inscriptione fixus: 'Quisquis servus sine dominico iussu foras exierit, accipiet plagas centum.'<sup>10</sup> Accedit quod in fascibus sevirilibus Trimalchionis hoc erat scriptum: 'C. Pompeio Trimalchioni, seviro Augustali, Cinnamus dispensator;'<sup>11</sup> et sescenta alia huiusmodi sunt, quae hic enumerare taedeat. Praeterea cives coloniae sacra festaque publica et privata

<sup>1</sup> C. 81, p. 55, l. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Hanc rem optime tractavit Iannellius, Cod. Perott. pp. CXCIV-CCV.

<sup>3</sup> C. 64, p. 42, ll. 37-8.    <sup>4</sup> C. 59, p. 39, ll. 25-7.    <sup>5</sup> C. 68, p. 45, ll. 36 seqq.

<sup>6</sup> C. 55, p. 36, ll. 19 seqq.

<sup>7</sup> C. 36, p. 24, ll. 23-31.

<sup>8</sup> C. 53, p. 35, ll. 27-9. Acute dixit Iannellius Graecos in colonia Graeculos contemptim appellatos esse; cf. cc. 38, 46, 76, et Cod. Perott. p. CXCVI.

<sup>9</sup> C. 38, p. 25, ll. 26-8; cf. C. I. L. IV. nn. 138; 807; 1136.

<sup>10</sup> C. 28, p. 20, ll. 14-16.

<sup>11</sup> C. 30, p. 21, ll. 5-8; cf. ll. 10-13.

ex more Romanorum, ut videtur, celebrabant.<sup>1</sup> Denique munera gladiatoria<sup>2</sup> et epulae populo datae<sup>3</sup> commemorantur.

Haec ad coloniam pertinent; sed et reliqua urbs legibus institutisque Romanis ex parte utebatur<sup>4</sup> atque praeco urbanus Latine proclamabat.<sup>5</sup>

De situ et aedificiis urbis nonnulla tradita sunt. Pars enim aedificiorum tam prope a mari erant ut Eumolpus et Encolpius e templo usque ad litus lapidum vitandorum causa currerent.<sup>6</sup> Encolpius autem ex hospitio fere ipso navem conscendisse videtur.<sup>7</sup> Commemorantur autem porticus,<sup>8</sup> theatrum,<sup>9</sup> amphitheatrum,<sup>10</sup> balnea,<sup>11</sup> basilica,<sup>12</sup> templa,<sup>13</sup> curia,<sup>14</sup> popinae,<sup>15</sup> fornix,<sup>16</sup> crypta,<sup>17</sup> villae,<sup>18</sup> insulae,<sup>19</sup> pinacotheca,<sup>20</sup> arcus vetus,<sup>21</sup> omnia denique quae in florente urbe inveniri solent. Adde quod forum urbis etiam deficiente die frequentiam rerum venalium<sup>22</sup> et turbas coctionum<sup>23</sup> praebuit.

Sunt autem nonnulli loci e quibus urbem Trimalchionis emporium fuisse licet suspiceris. Ipse enim Trimalchio negotiando dives factus est,<sup>24</sup> atque naves suas vino, lardo, faba, seplasio et mancipiis onera-

<sup>1</sup> *Saturnalia*, c. 44, p. 29, l. 12; c. 58, p. 38, l. 23. *Parentalia*, c. 77, p. 52, l. 38; cf. c. 69, p. 46, l. 14. *Novendiale*, c. 65, p. 44, l. 6. *Nudipedalia* (c. 44, p. 29, l. 38) ad urbem Romam pertinere videntur; et, nisi fallimur, 'clivus' qui ibidem dicitur Clivus Capitolinus est.

<sup>2</sup> C. 45, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> C. 45, p. 30, l. 29; c. 71, p. 48, l. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Cc. 13-14, pp. 12-13; *Nuptiae*, c. 26, p. 18, ll. 35 seqq.

<sup>5</sup> C. 97, p. 66, ll. 6-11. <sup>6</sup> C. 90, p. 61, ll. 1-5. <sup>7</sup> C. 99, p. 68, ll. 3-8.

<sup>8</sup> C. 3, p. 8, l. 12; c. 6, p. 9, ll. 24-5; c. 82, p. 55, l. 27; c. 90, p. 61, l. 1; cf. c. 106, p. 73, l. 5, 'quas in Herculis porticu acceperat.'

<sup>9</sup> C. 90, p. 62, l. 1; c. 92, p. 63, l. 9.

<sup>10</sup> C. 45, p. 30, l. 14.

<sup>11</sup> C. 26, p. 19, l. 20 seqq.; c. 30, p. 21, l. 21; c. 41, p. 27, l. 40; c. 42, p. 28, ll. 3-6; c. 91, p. 62, l. 14; c. 92, p. 63, ll. 6-10; c. 94, p. 64, l. 3; c. 97, p. 66, l. 9.

<sup>12</sup> C. 57, p. 38, l. 14.

<sup>13</sup> C. 90, p. 61, l. 3.

<sup>14</sup> C. 44, p. 29, l. 18.

<sup>15</sup> C. 98, p. 67, l. 16.

<sup>16</sup> Cc. 7, 8.

<sup>17</sup> C. 17, p. 14, l. 3; cf. *Frag. XVI*.

<sup>18</sup> C. 61, p. 41, l. 6; cf. c. 62, p. 41, l. 28; c. 77, p. 52, l. 23.

<sup>19</sup> C. 95, p. 65, l. 14; c. 96, p. 65, l. 38; cf. c. 94, p. 64, l. 1, 'synoecio.'

<sup>20</sup> C. 83, p. 56, l. 6 seqq. <sup>21</sup> C. 44, p. 29, l. 16. <sup>22</sup> C. 12, p. 11, l. 30 seqq.

<sup>23</sup> C. 14, p. 13, l. 4. De foro cf. c. 44, p. 29, l. 20; c. 57, p. 38, l. 1; c. 58, p. 39, l. 9.

<sup>24</sup> C. 76, p. 51-2. Cf. c. 38, p. 25, ll. 13-18: 'Arietes a Tarento emit et testiculavit in gregem. Mel Atticum ut domi nasceretur, apes ab Athenis iussit afferri; obiter et vernaculae quae sunt meliusculae a Graeculis fient. Ecce intra

vit.<sup>1</sup> Lichas autem, mercator Tarentinus, Encolpium et Eumolpum ab urbe nave sua vexit.<sup>2</sup> Accedit quod non solum Graeci et Romani sed etiam Cappadoces<sup>3</sup> et Alexandrini<sup>4</sup> et Syri<sup>5</sup> et Aegyptii<sup>6</sup> et Aethiopes<sup>7</sup> incolae erant urbis. Cui tamen haud ita multum auctoritatis tribuendum est: Romani enim servos ex omnibus orbis terrarum gentibus habebant. Sed hoc certe concedendum est, homines exterarum gentium in portu vel emporio facillime inveniri.

Aliud autem indicium praebent nomina deorum qui ab incolis urbis Trimalchionis maxime colebantur; quae haec fere sunt: *Iuppiter* (c. 44, p. 29, l. 37; c. 47, p. 32, l. 1; c. 51, p. 34, l. 12; c. 56, p. 37, l. 12; c. 58, p. 38, l. 25), *Neptunus* (c. 76, p. 51, l. 31), '*Athana*' (c. 58, p. 38, l. 37; cf. c. 29, p. 20, l. 26; c. 43, p. 29, l. 4), *Venus* (c. 29, p. 20, l. 34; cf. c. 68, p. 46, l. 9), *Liber Pater* (c. 41, p. 27, l. 33; cf. ibid. l. 27), *Mars* (c. 34, p. 23, l. 19), *Mercurius* (c. 29, p. 20, l. 30; c. 67, p. 45, l. 10; c. 77, p. 52, l. 18), *Hercules* (c. 106, p. 73, l. 5; cf. c. 48, p. 33, l. 1), *Priapus* (c. 17, p. 14, l. 26; c. 21, p. 17, l. 4; c. 60, p. 40, l. 11), *Fortuna* (c. 29, p. 20, l. 30; cf. c. 43, p. 28, l. 37), *Augustus* (c. 60, p. 40, l. 18; cf. locos qui ad Augustales pertinent) et *Lares* (c. 29, p. 20, l. 34; c. 60, p. 40, ll. 22-6).<sup>8</sup>

Notandum est autem quod Encolpius 'gregem cursorum cum magistro se exercentem' in porticu domus Trimalchionis vidit;<sup>9</sup> ex quo adparet ludos gymnicos in urbe celebrari solitos esse. Circenses quoque et factiones commemorantur.<sup>10</sup>

Denique multos in urbe literas humaniores coluisse ex aliquot locis

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hos dies scripsit ut illi ex India semen boletorum mitteretur.' Ex quo Trimalchionem non longe ab aliquo emporio vixisse satis adparet.

<sup>1</sup> C. 76, p. 51, l. 36; cf. Beloch. Camp. p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> C. 101, p. 69, ll. 7-10; cf. c. 43, p. 28, ll. 27-35.

<sup>3</sup> C. 63, p. 42, l. 10; c. 69, p. 46, l. 13.

<sup>4</sup> C. 31, p. 21, l. 34; c. 68, p. 45, l. 34.

<sup>5</sup> C. 22, p. 17, l. 13 seqq.

<sup>6</sup> C. 35, p. 24, l. 11.

<sup>7</sup> C. 34, p. 23, l. 16. Adde quod Trimalchio et Ganymedes ex Asia venerunt; c. 44, p. 29, l. 13; c. 75, p. 51, l. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Haec addenda sunt: duodecim dii, c. 39, p. 26, l. 12; Parcae, c. 29, p. 20, l. 31; Incubo, c. 38, p. 25, l. 24; Occupo, c. 58, p. 39, l. 9; Orcus, c. 34, p. 23, l. 35; c. 45, p. 30, l. 28; Nocturnae, c. 64, p. 42, l. 27; 'tutela loci,' c. 57, p. 37, l. 31; 'Felicio' Scintillae, c. 67, p. 45, ll. 12-13. <sup>9</sup> C. 29, p. 20, ll. 31-2.

<sup>10</sup> C. 70, p. 47, ll. 22, 29; cf. c. 64, p. 42, l. 33.

satis constat;<sup>1</sup> erant enim scholae,<sup>2</sup> rhetores,<sup>3</sup> poetae<sup>4</sup> et fortasse poetica certamina<sup>5</sup> in urbe. Accedit quod (c. 6) 'ingens scholasticorum turba' in porticum venisse dicitur.

Haec fere sunt quae urbem Trimalchionis maxime designare videantur: itaque quaerendum est cui urbi Campaniae haec indicia optime conveniant.

Urbes quae ad sinum Cumanum prope a mari sitae erant hae fuerunt: Cumae, Baiae, Bauli, Misenum, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculanum, Pompeii, Stabiae, Surrentum. Quarum tres tantum in quaestionem veniunt, Cumae, Puteoli et Neapolis. Nam Pompeii longius afuerunt a mari; Baiae autem et Bauli et Herculanum<sup>6</sup> et Stabiae coloniae non fuerunt. Misenum quoque et Surrentum licet excipiamus. Nam Misenum recens fuit Augusti temporibus,<sup>7</sup> sed urbs Trimalchionis, ut videtur, iam vetus fuit.<sup>8</sup> Accedit quod Petronius classis et classiariorum non meminit;<sup>9</sup> sed Augustus stationem navalem Miseni locavit,<sup>10</sup> ex qua urbs paulatim orta esse videtur.<sup>11</sup> Denique Misenum 'urbs Graeca' non erat. Surrentum autem multis de causis excipiendum est. Primum enim in alto campo longius a mari situm erat;<sup>12</sup> sed urbs Trimalchionis magna ex parte proxima mari in ipso litore fuisse videtur. Deinde Surrentum longius afuit a Baiis et Capua quam quae urbs Trimalchionis esset. Nam vix

<sup>1</sup> Etiam Trimalchio doctus videri voluit; cf. cc. 39, 55, 56, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Cc. 1-7; cf. o. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Agamemnon rhetor fuit; cf. cc. 3-6; c. 48, p. 32, l. 30 seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Eumolpus poeta erat et Latina carmina recitabat; cf. c. 83, p. 56, ll. 29 seqq.; c. 90, p. 62, l. 1, et al.

<sup>5</sup> C. 83, p. 56, l. 30; cf. c. 90, p. 62, l. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Herculanum municipium fuisse testantur tituli. Cf. C. I. L. X. 1416; 1447; 1452; 1453; 1455; 1456; et p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Beloch. 'Campanien,' p. 190; Hermes XIII. p. 109; C. I. L. X. 1, p. 317.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. c. 78, p. 53, ll. 7-10; c. 44; c. 58, p. 38, l. 13; c. 75 ad fin.

<sup>9</sup> Encolpius militis meminit (c. 82); sed hic non fuit classarius.

<sup>10</sup> Sueton. vit. Oct. 49; Tac. Ann. IV. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Plin. Epist. VI. 20, 7; Veget. V. 1. Misenum colonia erat, quod tituli testantur; sed quo tempore colonia in urbem deducta sit incertum est. Hoc a Claudio factum esse probabiliter coniecit Mommsenus (C. I. L. X. 1, p. 317); sed aliter iudicat Belochius (l. s. c.), qui coloniam ab Augusto deductam esse conicit.

<sup>12</sup> Beloch. 'Campanien,' pp. 261-2.

credibile est Surrentinos solitos esse Capuam exire ad mercandum.<sup>1</sup> Denique Surrentum neque in titulis neque a scriptoribus antiquis colonia fuisse traditur. Plinius enim, quamquam Surrentum commemorat,<sup>2</sup> tamen coloniam esse non dicit; et in libro coloniarum<sup>3</sup> 'Surrentum oppidum' legitur, non 'colonia.' Exstat autem titulus<sup>4</sup> in quo mentio fit municipum Surrentinorum. Quae cum ita sint, tres tantum urbes reliquae sunt nobis, Neapolis, Cumae, Puteoli.

De urbe Trimalchionis quattuor sententias viri docti in medium protulerunt, quae ordine tractandae sunt.

Ac primum quidem sunt qui Petronium non unam et eandem coloniam descripsisse sed quasi plures in unam conlegisse putent.<sup>5</sup> At Petronius alias urbes, Crotona<sup>6</sup> et fortasse Massiliam,<sup>7</sup> nominatim indicavit et descripsit. Urbs autem haec clarius designatur quam quae ficta sit; quod infra demonstrandum est.

Sunt autem qui urbem Trimalchionis Neapolim fuisse putent; quam opinionem Pithoeus<sup>8</sup> primus, quod sciam, protulit. Cum Pithoeo autem consenserunt De Salas,<sup>9</sup> Burmannus,<sup>10</sup> Ignarra,<sup>11</sup> Studerus,<sup>12</sup> Franzius,<sup>13</sup> Beckius,<sup>14</sup> et multi alii; sed recentiores qui hanc rem tractaverunt aliter iudicaverunt.

Argumenta quae Pithoei opinionem maxime confirmare videntur haec sunt:

Urbs Trimalchionis 'Graeca urbs' ab Encolpio vocatur (c. 81); cf. Tac. Ann. XV. 33: (Nero) 'Romae incipere scenas non ausus Neapolim quasi Graecam urbem delegit.'

Deinde vetus ille Petroni glossator in verbis 'Graecae urbis' (c. 81)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. c. 62, p. 41, l. 9: 'Forte dominus Capuam exierat ad scruta scita expedienda.'

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Nat. III. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Gromat. vet. ed. Lachmann. I. p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L. X. 676. Duumviri quoque in titulis Surrentinis commemorantur; ex quo Belochius coloniam in oppidum deductam esse conclusit. Non recte: nam quod summi urbis magistratus duumviri vocabantur coloniam in ea fuisse nullo modo arguit. Herculanei enim et in multis aliis municipiis duumviri erant. Cf. c. I. L. X. 1443; 1444; 1445; 1461; 1441; 1453; Marquardt, 'Staatsverwaltung,' ed. alt. I. p. 152 adn. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Buech. praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>6</sup> C. 116 seqq.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. I. Buech.; cf. Fr. III.

<sup>8</sup> In ed. Burmann. adn. ad c. 81, 'Graecae urbis.'

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. ed. alt. vol. II. p. 159.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. ad c. 81, 'Graecae urbis.'

<sup>11</sup> 'De Palaestra Neapolitana,' p. 205 seqq.

<sup>12</sup> Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 207 seqq.

<sup>13</sup> C. I. G. III. p. 718.

<sup>14</sup> 'Age of Petr. Arbiter,' p. 53.

adnotavit: 'Neapolis.' Sed glossarium eius parvae auctoritatis est,<sup>1</sup> etsi viri docti olim multum momenti ei tribuebant.<sup>2</sup>

Est autem Petroni fragmentum (XVI. Buech.): 'Satis constaret eos nisi inclinatos non solere transire cryptam Neapolitanam.' Hoc fragmentum Cumis quidem minus convenit, tamen contra Puteolos non facit; crypta enim Neapolitana haud ita longe a Puteolis erat. Incertum est autem an crypta cuius c. 16 mentio fit eadem sit necne; sed fortasse haec in urbe fuit, ut Studerus coniecit.<sup>3</sup> Cetera autem argumenta quae Ignarra et alii protulerunt puerilia<sup>4</sup> sunt.

At multa argumenta sunt quae contra Pithoei sententiam quam maxime faciunt; e quibus haec fere plurimum auctoritatis habere videntur.

Primum quo tempore colonia Neapolim deducta sit incertum est. Nam quae in libro coloniarum leguntur:<sup>5</sup> 'Neapolim, muro ducta. Iter populo debetur ped. LXXX. Sed ager eius syriae pulestinae' (sic) a Grecis est in iugeribus adsignatus, et limites intercisivi sunt constituti, inter quos postea et miles imp. Titi lege modum iugerationis ob meritum accepit, ea non ad Neapolim Campaniae sed ad Flaviam Neapolim, urbem Syriae Palestinae<sup>7</sup> plane spectant. Deinde inscriptio illa (C. I. L. X. 1492) cui Studerus permultum auctoritatis tribuit ne minime quidem ad rem pertinet; nam Mommsenus eam quarti post Christum saeculi esse iudicavit.<sup>8</sup> Constat autem Neapolim Ciceronis temporibus municipium fuisse.<sup>9</sup> Plinius quoque, quam-

<sup>1</sup> Wehli 'Obs. Crit. in Petronium,' pp. 7-10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mus. Rhen. nov. II. p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Gromat. Vet. I. p. 235.

<sup>6</sup> 'Syriae pulestinae' cod. A; 'seriae palestinae' cod. E; 'syria et palestinae' P. 'Sirenae Parthenopae' mire Lachmannus, iure emendandi abus. Lachmanni emendatione deceptus Belochius (Camp. p. 40) coloniam Neapolim a Tito deductam esse putat, conlato Stati loco (Silv. II. 2, 133). Sed Mommsenus (C. I. L. X. 1, p. 171) Lachmanni errorem correxerit.

<sup>7</sup> In nummis huius urbis legitur: 'Φλαυία Νεάπολις Συρίας Παλαιστίνης'; Eckhel, Doct. Num. III. p. 435.

<sup>8</sup> C. I. L. X. 1, p. 172: '1478, 1492 quorum hic videtur esse saeculi p. C. quarti'; ibid. p. 171: 'titulus aevi labentis n. 1492.' Quo anno hic titulus scriptus sit nescimus. Belochius quoque (Camp. p. 40) eum tertii vel quarti saeculi esse censet.

<sup>9</sup> Ad Fam. XIII. 30, 1: 'L. Manlius est Sosis: is fuit Catinensis; sed est una cum reliquis Neapolitanis civis Romanus factus decurioque Neapoli; erat enim

quam Neapolis meminit,<sup>1</sup> tamen eam coloniam fuisse non dicit. Accedit quod quattuorviri Neapolitani in inscriptione<sup>2</sup> commemorantur. Denique decreta municipii exstant, unum incertae aetatis<sup>3</sup> et duo aetatis Vespasianae.<sup>4</sup> His pensitatis Mommsenus Neapolim tertio fere post Christum saeculo coloniae nomine ornatam esse censet.<sup>5</sup> Utcumque hoc erat, Neapolis non ante Neronis certe tempora colonia facta est.<sup>6</sup> Itaque non erat urbs Trimalchionis.

Ut supra diximus, pleraque in colonia Trimalchionis Romana erant. Quod Neapoli nullo modo convenit; ibi enim usque ad Hadriani tempora permulta Graeca erant. Cf. verba Strabonis, qui circiter A.U.C. 730 floruit (V. 7): *μηνύει δὲ τὰ τῶν δημάρχων ὀνόματα τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἑλληνικὰ ὄντα, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀναμίξ τὰ Καμπανικά. πλείστα δ' ἔχνη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐνταῦθα σώζεται, γυμνάσιά τε καὶ ἐφηβεία καὶ φρατρίαι καὶ ὀνόματα Ἑλληνικὰ, καί περ ὄντων Ῥωμαίων*: (VI. 2) *νυνὶ δὲ πλὴν Τάραντος καὶ Ῥηγίου καὶ Νεαπόλεως ἐκβαρβαρῶσθαι συμβέβηκεν ἅπαντα*. Accedunt verba Taciti (Ann. XV. 33) quae supra citavimus. Haec omnia quam maxime inscripti-  
onibus confirmantur. Nam etiam imperatoris Titi temporibus Neapolitani Graeca lingua utebantur; cuius rei argumentum exstat titulus C. I. L. X, 1481, 'Graece et Latine scriptus, sed ut Graeca priorem locum teneant; exstant decreta municipii praeter n. 1490 aetatis incertae duo n. 1489 et C. I. Gr. n. 5838 aetatis Vespasianae quae ostendant ad id usque tempus et fortasse postea quoque acta publica Neapoli Graece confecta esse. Licebat sane civi Neapolitano etiam Latina lingua in titulis uti; sed diu plerique ea abstinerunt.'<sup>7</sup> Qua de causa antiquiores tituli Neapoli reperti plerique Graece scripti sunt. Accedit quod in decretis nomina mensium modo Graeca sunt, modo Romana.<sup>8</sup> Denique magistratus in titulis Neapolitanis

adscriptus in id municipium ante civitatem socii et Latinis datam.' Cf. Cic. ad Att. X. 13, 1; pro Balbo 21 et 55.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Nat. III. 62.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. G. 5796, *ἄρχαντα τεσσαρῶν ἀνδρῶν*.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. X. 1490.

<sup>4</sup> C. I. L. X. 1489; C. I. G. 5838; cf. Mommsen. C. I. L. X. 1, p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> C. I. L. X. 1, p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> 'Obwohl es eine Inschrift frühestens des 3. Jahrhunderts giebt, welche wahrscheinlich dieser Stadt angehört und sie als colonia bezeichnet, so kann sie das Colonierecht unmöglich schon vor der neronischen Epoche erworben haben.' Mommsen. Hermes XIII. p. 110; cf. C. I. L. I. c.; Beloch. Camp. p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> C. I. L. X. 1, p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. C. I. G. 5838, *ἰδ' Ἀθηναίων*, et infra *Ἰουλίων*; 5785, *Πανθεῶνος μηνός*; 5836, *Ἰανουαρίων*; 5843, *Ἀπριλίων*.

plerique Graecis vocabulis designantur.<sup>1</sup> Quae omnia coloniae quam Petronius descripsit non conveniunt.

Denique homines urbis Trimalchionis alios deos atque Neapolitani colebant. Nam deorum Neapolitanorum, Parthenopae, Sebethi, Cereris, Hebonis,<sup>2</sup> in ea parte saturarum quae ad urbem Campaniae pertinet nulla fit mentio; et contra dii quos incolae urbis Trimalchionis venerabantur plerique Neapoli non conveniunt.

Quae cum ita sint, Neapolis certe urbs Trimalchionis non fuit.

Mommsenus autem in commentariolo<sup>3</sup> quod abhinc duodecim fere annis edidit, urbem quam Petronius descripsit Cumas esse probare conatus est. Sed etsi rem acutissime et doctissime, ut solet, disputavit, fortasse operae pretium est sententiam eius denuo perscrutari. Argumenta autem quae ad opinionem suam probandam protulit haec fere sunt:

(I) Primum urbs Trimalchionis 'Graeca urbs' erat: quod Mommsenus neque Miseno neque Puteolis convenire censet. Itaque, cum urbs illa Neapolis non sit, conligit eam Cumas fuisse. Sed quam-

<sup>1</sup> Demarchus, *δημαρχος*; C. I. G. 5790; 5797; 5799; 5809; 5810; C. I. L. X. 1478; 1491; 1492; Beloch. n. 25, p. 46. Cf. Spartian. Vit. Hadrian. 19: 'Per Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et II. vir; apud Neapolim demarchus.' *Δαυκέ-λαρχος*, C. I. G. 5790; 5796; 5797. *Γραμματεὺς*, C. I. G. 5797; 5843; cf. C. I. L. X. 1494, 'scriba.' *Ἀγοράνομος*, C. I. G. 5793; 5799; 5836. *Ἀρχων*, C. I. G. 5836; 5838; 5799. *Ἀντάρχων*, C. I. G. 5838. *Ἀρχοντα τὸν διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν τιμητικόν*, (quinquennalis) C. I. G. 5796; cf. 5797, *ἔρχαντα τὸν πενταετηρικόν Ἀρχαντα τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν* (IIII. virorum), C. I. G. 5796. *Γυμνησίαρχος*, C. I. G. 5796; 5809. *Βουλή*, C. I. G. 5836; Beloch. n. 25, p. 40. *Βουλευταί*, C. I. G. 5843. *Πρόσκλητον*, C. I. G. 5838, 5843. *Ἰσόκλητον*, C. I. G. 5799. *Φρητρίαι*, C. I. G. 5785; 5787; 5788; 5789; 5797; 5798; 5802; 5805; 5818; 5869; C. I. L. X. 1491; Willmann. n. 664; cf. Varro L. L. V. 85 Mueller.; Strabo. l. s. c. Confer C. I. L. X. 1487, 'agonotheta'; *ἐπαρχος σείτου δόσεως*, C. I. G. 5793; *ἐπίτροπος*, C. I. G. 5790; 5791; *στρατηγός*, C. I. G. 5793. At haec fere Latina vocabula magistratus Neapolitanos designant; 'II vir alimentorum quaestor sacrae pecuniae' (sic), C. I. L. X. 1491; 'curator frumenti comparandi,' ibid.; 'scriba' ibid. n. 1491; 'arkarius reipublicae Neapolitanorum,' qui fortasse servus publicus fuit, ibid. n. 1495. Sacerdotes qui in Latinis titulis commemorantur hi sunt: Augustalis, C. I. L. X. 1872; augur et flamen Virbialis, ibid. n. 1493; (?) aedilis Augustalis, ibid. n. 1493; praefectus et quinquennalis invenum, ibid. n. 1493. Patroni coloniae commemorantur, C. I. L. X. 1487; 1492; 1819; vir primarius civitatis, ibid. n. 1520; decuriones, ibid. 1489; 1490; Cic. ad Fam. XIII. 30, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Beloch. 'Campanien,' p. 51 et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Hermes XIII. pp. 106-21.



quam Cumae sine dubio 'Graeca urbs' fuit tamen hoc nomen et Puteolis convenit; quod infra demonstrandum est.

(II) Deinde colonia in urbem Trimalchionis deducta erat. Cumas autem aut a triumviris aut ab Octaviano coloniam factam esse Mommsenus ex C. I. litteris, quae in duobus titulis Cumanorum<sup>1</sup> leguntur, conclusit. Has enim litteras verba 'Coloniae Iuliae' valere putat. Est porro locus libri coloniarum qui hanc coniecturam confirmare videtur: 'Cumae: colonia ab Augusto deducta.' Sed constat Cumas ad Caesaris usque tempora municipium fuisse;<sup>2</sup> et fistula<sup>3</sup> imperatoriae aetatis exstat cum hac inscriptione: 'Publ(icum) muni(cipii) Cuman(or)um'. Denique Plinius Cumas coloniam fuisse non tradit. Quibus pensatis ipse Mommsenus nuper multo dubitanti<sup>4</sup> de hac re scripsit quam antea scripserat.<sup>5</sup> Accedit quod Hermeros (c. 57) haec dicit: 'Puer capillatus in hanc coloniam veni: adhuc basilica non erat facta.' Ex quo Mommsenus coniecit coloniam in urbem deductam esse eodem fere tempore quo Hermeros puer in urbem venerit; novam enim basilicam ob coloniam deductam factam esse putat. Quod quam incertum sit nemo non videt. Sed etiam si verum esset, tamen rem non satis probaret; nam Puteolos quoque colonia ab Augusto deducta est. Sed hac de re infra dicemus.

(III) Tertium argumentum quod Mommsenus protulit multo speciosius est. Nam (c. 65) Encolpius dicit: 'Inter haec triclirii valvas lictor percussit, amictusque veste alba cum ingenti frequentia comissator intravit. Ego maiestate conterritus *praetorem* putabam venisse. Itaque temptavi assurgere et nudos pedes in terram deferre. Risit hanc trepidationem Agamemnon et 'contine te' inquit 'homo stultissime. Habinnas sevir est idemque lapidarius, qui videtur monumenta optime facere.' Cumis autem summos magistratus praetores fuisse testantur inscriptiones;<sup>6</sup> itaque Mommsenus coloniam Trimalchionis sine ullo dubio Cumas fuisse conclusit. Quod tamen valde incertum esse videtur; nam olim summi magistratus multorum municipiorum et coloniarum 'praetores' vocati erant; itaque postea, id est, aetate imperatoria, quamquam quattuorviri aut

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. X. 3703; 3704.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. ad Att. X. 13, 1.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. X. 3711; cf. n. 3697 (A.U.C. 761), quo in titulo 'municipes' Cumani memorantur.

<sup>4</sup> Hermes XVIII. p. 181; cf. 198.

<sup>5</sup> Hermes XIII. p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. L. X. 3698 (A.D. 289) et 3685, quarum haec Puteolis inventa est.

duumviri re vera erant, tamen nonnumquam<sup>1</sup> minus accurate 'praetores' ex more antiquo appellabantur. Cuius rei ipsae Cumae luculentissimum exemplum praebent; Ciceronis enim temporibus summi magistratus urbis quattuorviri, ut videtur, appellabantur,<sup>2</sup> atque in titulo Cumano<sup>3</sup> imperatoriae aetatis haec leguntur: 'Ad honorem quoque *duumviratus* ad cumulanda munera patriae suae libenter accessit.' Itaque non mirum est si et aliarum urbium duumviri nonnumquam 'praetores' appellabantur,<sup>4</sup> etsi casu inscriptiones quae exstent hoc non ostendant.

Sed etiam si haec res aliter esset, tamen locus Petroni Mommseni sententiam non probaret. Nam quod advena Encolpius magistratum urbis 'praetorem' vocat nihil fere auctoritatis habet. Ille enim Romae fuerat,<sup>5</sup> et fortasse in Gallia Narbonensi, ubi summi urbium magistratus 'praetores' vocabantur,<sup>6</sup> habitaverat.<sup>7</sup> Itaque non mirum est si cum Encolpius Habinnatem cum lictore et ingenti frequentia intrantem videret eum praetorem esse putavit.

Haec fere sunt quae Mommsenus ad suam sententiam probandam protulit. At alia sunt, quae opinioni eius refragari videntur.

(I) Trimalchio (c. 48) haec dicit: 'Nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis vidi in ampulla pendere, et cum illi pueri dicerent: *Σίβυλλα, τί θέλεις*; respondebat illa: *ἀποθανεῖν θέλω*.' Quo de loco prudenter scripsit Buechelerus: <sup>8</sup> 'Cumae illam coloniam non fuisse, de qua convivae confabulantur, probatur eo, quod Cumis se suis oculis Sibyllam vidisse quasi rem raritate notabilem Trimalchio pronuntiat.' Quocum consentit Ludovicus Friedlaenderus.<sup>9</sup> At Mommsenus locum Petroni sic explicare conatus est: 'Sed voluit lepidus auctor ita ineptire pulchellum hominem, scilicet ut urbana

<sup>1</sup> Hac de causa imperatoria aetate Lavinii, Anagninae, Capituli Hernicorum et Cumis 'praetores' erant: Hispelli autem et Nemausi 'praetores quattuorviri,' Abellini et Grumentum et Telesiae et Narbonis 'praetores duoviri' in titulis memorantur. Cf. Marquardt, 'Staatsverwaltung,' ed. alt. vol. I. pp. 149-50; Madvig. 'Verfassung und Verwaltung des Röm. Staates,' vol. II. p. 13; Hor. Sat. I. 5, 35; Cic. de Lege Agr. II. 34, 92-3; C. I. L. X. 6193.

<sup>2</sup> Ad Att. X. 13, 1.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. X. 3704.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plut. vit. Sull. 37, τὸν ἀρχοντα (scilicet Δικαιορχέας) Γράμιον.

<sup>5</sup> C. 69, p. 46, l. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Marquardt, l. s. c.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Frag. I. et IV. (Buech.).

<sup>8</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>9</sup> 'Bursian's Jahresbericht,' 1878, 2d Th. p. 172.

narraret quasi longinquo itinere conspecta.<sup>1</sup> Quasi vero aliquis tam audacter tale tantumque mendacium de sua urbe coram suis civibus diceret. At quamquam Trimalchio et superbus et stultus fuisse videtur, tamen non fuit insanus. Constat autem eum non 'Cumis' sed 'hac in colonia' dicturum fuisse si urbana narraret.

Est autem et alius locus (c. 53): 'Et plane interpellavit saltationis libidinem actuarius, qui tanquam urbis acta recitavit: 'VII. kalendas sextiles: in praedio Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt pueri XXX., puellae XL.; sublata in horreum ex area tritici millia modium quingenta; boves domiti quingenti.' Quo ex loco et Buechelerus et Mommsenus convivium Trimalchionis in praedio eius Cumano actum esse coniecerunt. Quod si verum est, sententia Mommseni pro vera et certa accipienda est; nam quod Buechelerus dicit: 'Appellatio ipsa solitam insolentiam Trimalcionis arguit, qui praedium suum a longinquo oppido, non a propinquo voluit denominari, ut scilicet fines illius patere usque ad Cumas crederentur,'<sup>2</sup> parum probabile est. Domini enim, ut recte dicit Mommsenus, nomina praediis suis arbitrio suo dare non solebant; sed praedia sua quodque nomina ab oppidis vel pagis in quibus sita erant, trahebant. Cuius rei apud Ciceronem sescenta exempla sunt. Sed, nisi fallimur, ea quae actuarius recitavit non ad domum in qua convivium agebatur sed ad longinqua praedia pertinuerunt. Nam et 'praedium Cumanum' et 'hortos Pompeianos' commemoravit, scilicet ut Trimalchio videretur non solum in sua urbe sed etiam Cumis et Pompeiis fundos habere. Adde quod domus<sup>3</sup> Trimalchionis in urbe vel certe proxima ab urbe fuit; quod ex c. 78 satis constat. Sed praedium Cumanum ruri longius ab urbe fuisse facile suspiceris; erant enim in eo 'tritici milia modium quingenta' in horreo et area et quingenti boves. Hoc tamen incertum esse concedimus. Sed cenam Trimalchionis in praedio Cumano actam esse demonstrari non potest, immo vix credibile videtur.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. X. 1, p. 351; cf. Hermes XIII. p. 114: 'Es wirkt nur um so komischer, wenn er in Cumae selbst berichtet, wie er die cumanische Sibylle in einer Bouteille habe sitzen sehen und mit den Bengeln auf der Strasse Unterhaltung führen hören.'

<sup>2</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. c. 77, ubi Trimalchio de domo sua iactat, nihil de praedio adiacente dicens.

(II) Deinde apud Petronium nulla mentio fit Apollinis Cumani et Demetros, qui Cumis maxime colebantur.<sup>1</sup> Accedit quod templum Apollinis et antrum Sibyllae, quae per totam orbem terrarum notissima erant, non commemorantur.<sup>2</sup> At contra Trimalchio se Sibyllam in ampulla pendere Cumis vidisse dicit; quod non solum ridiculum sed etiam impium civibus suis visum esset, si ipse Cumis cum id diceret habitaret. Nam etiam si oraculum Augusti temporibus iam totum extinctum erat, tamen Cumanos de Sibylla sua tales nugas tam audacter narrasse nullo modo credibile est.

(III) Denique multa alia de colonia tradita sunt quae Cumis non conveniunt. Nam in colonia negotiatores et mercatores erant atque ipse Trimalchio negociando dives factus erat. Sed Augusti temporibus Cumae emporium non erant: Puteoli enim mercatores ad se adduxerant. Accedit quod urbs ipsa Cumanorum nullum portum habebat.<sup>3</sup> Deinde forum vesperi 'frequentia rerum venalium' et turba coctionum repletum atque 'ingens scholasticorum turba' Cumis minus conveniunt. Praeterea in colonia multi homines exterarum gentium erant; sed hoc mirum videtur, si quidem colonia 'vacuae Cumae' erat. His de causis colonia Trimalchionis Cumae fuisse non videtur.

Puteolos autem coloniam Trimalchionis fuisse, vir Neapolitanus, Caltidius Iannellius, primus, quod sciam, demonstrare conatus est.<sup>4</sup> Hunc virum doctum pauci alii secuti sunt; quo in numero quondam fuit Ludovicus Friedlaenderus. Ille enim ex vigilum mentione (c. 79) Puteolos coloniam nostram fuisse concluderat. Sed postea priorem sententiam reiecit. Itaque 'Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis Tempus eget.' Sed Belochius,<sup>5</sup> qui urbes Campaniae diligentissime exploravit et descripsit, cum Iannellio consensit.

Buechelerus autem de Puteolis haec scripsit: 'Graeca urbs p. 96, 7 mirum est profecto si Puteolana civitas vocatur tam diu a Romanis colonis habitata neque Graecae magis quam variarum nationum com-

<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Div. I. 98; Florus II. 8, 3; Vergil. Aen. VI. 9 seqq.; Plut. Virt. Mul. 26; C. I. L. X. n. 3685, et al.    <sup>2</sup> Verg. Aen. VI. 42 seqq.; Stat. Silv. V. 3, 172, et al.

<sup>3</sup> 'Als Handelsstadt ist Kyme wohl niemals bedeutend gewesen. Schon die Lage an der hafenlosen Küste zeigt, dass bei der Gründung ganz andere Rücksichten massgebend waren.' Beloch. Camp. p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> 'In Cod. Perottinum dissertationes tres,' pp. CXLII. seqq.

<sup>5</sup> Camp. pp. 108, 116, 117, 134, et al.

merciis et frequentia insignis. . . Accedit quod in crebris sermonibus quibus comoda et incommoda coloniae vitaeque vulgi inter cenantes versantur, paene nulla fit mercaturae ac rerum nauticarum mentio, quarum adfluentia Puteolanum emporium celebrabatur. Haec contra Puteolos pugnant.<sup>1</sup> Quocum consensit Mommsenus, qui et aliud argumentum protulit.<sup>2</sup> Ille enim dicit verba quae c. 44 leguntur: 'Haec colonia retroversus crescit tamquam coda vituli,' nullo modo Puteolis convenire, quod ea urbs illis temporibus quam maxime floret. Haec fere sunt quae non solum Buechelero et Mommseno sed etiam prioribus scriptoribus contra Puteolos facere viderentur. Itaque si haec explicare poterimus, Iannelli sententia multo probabilior videbitur. Nam vir ille doctissimus, quamquam has difficultates amovere multum diuque tentavit,<sup>3</sup> tamen rem acu non tetigit. Itaque Buechelero et Mommseni argumenta primum tractanda sunt.

Si rem propius inspicias, haec argumenta Iannelli sententiam non solum non evertunt sed etiam confirmant. Nam vera quidem sunt; sed contra Puteolos non pugnant, immo vero nobiscum faciunt.

Urbs Trimalchionis 'Graeca urbs' vocatur. Sed quamquam Puteoli, ut Iannellius dicit,<sup>4</sup> a Graecis conditi sunt,<sup>5</sup> tamen haec res ad nomen Graecae urbis explicandum nullo modo sufficit. Reliqua autem quae Iannellius multo cum labore adtulit difficultatem non amovet. Sed vera nominis explicatio, nisi fallimur, longe alia est atque omnes molestias quasi uno ictu profigat.

A.U.C. 560, ut Livius testatur,<sup>6</sup> colonia trecentorum civium Romanorum Puteolos deducta est. Parvam hanc coloniam iam deficientem imperator Augustus restituit.<sup>7</sup> Sed praeter coloniam Romanam quae Puteolis erat, 'vetus oppidum,' quod ante coloniam deductam ibi fuerat, remanebat, primum ut peregrina civitas, deinde post bellum sociale ut municipium. Sed Nero veteri oppido ius

<sup>1</sup> Praef. ad ed. maior. p. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Hermes XIII. p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Perott. pp. CCXLVII. seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Perott. p. CCXLVIII.

<sup>5</sup> Hieron. ad Olymp. LXIII. 1; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πυρρίοι; Strabon. V. p. 245; Festus s.v. 'minorem Delum,' et al.

<sup>6</sup> 'Coloniae civium Romanorum eo anno deductae sunt Puteolos, Volturnum, Liternum, trecenti homines in singulas.' Liv. XXXIV. 45; cf. XXXII. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Lib. Colon. p. 236: 'Puteoli colonia Augusta; Augustus deduxit.' Cf. C. I. L. VIII. 7959.

coloniae dedit;<sup>1</sup> atque, ut videtur, ambae coloniae in unam coniunctae sunt, quae 'colonia Claudia Neronensis Puteolana' vocata est. Hanc rem optime exposuit Nipperdeius,<sup>2</sup> quem Marquardtius<sup>3</sup> secutus est. Sed nemo, quod sciam, perspexit quanti momenti haec essent ad verba Petroni explicanda. Nam nisi fallimur parva illa colonia quae Puteolis erat ipsa est quae a Petronio commemoratur. Itaque verba illa: 'Haec colonia retroversus crescit tanquam coda vituli' Puteolis quam maxime conveniunt; nam coloniam Puteolanam paulatim defecisse vel eo optime probatur quod Augustus eam restituit. Deinde quod in sermonibus convivarum 'paene nulla fit mercaturae ac rerum nauticarum mentio' simili modo facillime explicari potest. Nam cena Trimalchionis in colonia agitur; sed sine dubio emporium Puteolanum in vetere oppido, quod olim portus Cumarum fuerat,<sup>4</sup> situm erat. Itaque non mirum est si homines coloniae, qui longius a mari habitabant<sup>5</sup> et fortasse emporii mercatores despiciebant, haud ita multum dicebant de mercatura et rebus maritimis. Est tamen locus cenae Trimalchionis qui ad res nauticas pertinet (c. 76).

Deinde Encolpius haec dicit (c. 81): 'Effugi iudicium, harenae imposui, hospitem occidi, ut inter [tot] audaciae nomina mendicus, exul, in deversorio Graecae urbis iacerem desertus?' Sed idem Encolpius paulo antea dixerat: 'Nec diu tamen lacrimis indulsi, sed veritus ne Menelaus etiam antescholarius inter cetera mala solum me in deversorio inveniret, collegi sarcinulas *locumque secretum et proximum litori* maestus conduxī.' Id est, priore hospitio deserto, se in 'Graecam urbem,' quo nomine *pars urbis quae proxima mari erat* designari videtur, contulerat. Huius autem nominis duplex ratio est; nam veterrima pars urbis, quae in colle prope a mari sita erat,<sup>6</sup> olim re vera 'Graeca urbs' portusque Cumarum fuerat, atque subiaccens emporium Encolpi temporibus, id est, Augusti aetate, simillimum Graecae urbis erat.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. XIV. 27 (A.U.C. 813); C. I. L. IV. 2152; X. 5369.

<sup>2</sup> Ad Tac. Ann. XIV. 27.

<sup>3</sup> 'Staatsverwaltung,' ed. alt. I. p. 118, adn. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Strabon. V. p. 245; Dionys. VII. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Fortasse colonia in superiore parte urbis (Beloch. Camp. pp. 137 seqq.) sita erat, si quidem coloni in uno loco habitabant.

<sup>6</sup> Beloch. Camp. pp. 130-31; cf. Atlas. Pl. III.

<sup>7</sup> 'Wer zu Cicero's oder Seneca's Zeit das Emporium von Puteoli durchwan-

Itaque, ut res quam brevissime exponatur, in urbe Puteolanorum et colonia Romana, in qua cena Trimalchionis agitur, et municipium erant. Praeterea ea pars urbis quae proxima mari erat, id est, veterrima pars urbis et adiacens emporium, 'Graeca urbs' ab Encolpio vocatur.

Multa sunt quae hanc opinionem confirmant. Primum enim praetor, aediles, seviri, munera gladiatoria et multa alia eiusmodi in cena Trimalchionis, quam vocant, commemorantur quorum in reliqua parte satirarum quae quidem ad urbem Campaniae pertinet, nulla fit mentio. Deinde si et colonia et municipium in urbe erant, paene constat colonos de maioribus suis iuribus et privilegiis gloriuros fuisse. Itaque intelligi possunt illa: '*Haec colonia retroversus crescit tanquam coda vituli*';<sup>1</sup> 'Quid enim futurum est si nec dii nec homines *huius coloniae* miserentur';<sup>2</sup> 'Puer capillatus in *hanc coloniam* veni';<sup>3</sup> 'mathematicus qui venerat forte in *coloniam nostram*.'<sup>4</sup> At in reliqua parte satirarum nihil tale legitur.

Similiter 'colonia' Puteolana in titulis vel saepissime<sup>5</sup> commemoratur, atque cives etiam annos a colonia deducta numerabant.<sup>6</sup> Notandum est autem quod homines coloniae Trimalchionis 'Graeculos' contemptim Graecos vocabant;<sup>7</sup> quod profecto mirum fuisset si et ipsi Graeca in urbe habitarent. Deinde, quod ex saturis scire possimus, coloni plerique certe non ad mare vel in ipso emporio sed longius a mari habitabant.<sup>8</sup> Sed Puteoli situ ipso divisi erant in duas partes, urbem exteriorem,<sup>9</sup> quae propior mari erat, et urbem interiorem,<sup>10</sup> quae longius a mari in collibus erat sita. Itaque coloniam in urbe interiore vel certe sub ea fuisse facile suspiceris; et fortasse urbs exterior distinctionis causa 'Graeca urbs' vocabatur.

derte, musste sich in eine Stadt des Hellenischen Ostens versetzt glauben';  
ibid. p. 116; cf. 134.

<sup>1</sup> C. 44, p. 29, l. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. l. 34.

<sup>3</sup> C. 57, p. 38, l. 13.

<sup>4</sup> C. 77, p. 52, l. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Plus quam vices quinquies.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. L. X. 1781; cf. 1566. Ibid. I. 577.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. c. 38, 'Graeculis' (apibus); c. 46, 'Graeculis' (litteris); c. 76, 'Graeculio.

<sup>8</sup> Notandum est quod multi e colonis fundos vel agros habebant; cf. cc. 37; 46; 48; 57 med. Deinde Graeculionem in coloniam venisse ut res notabilis commemoratur (c. 76). Denique mercaturae et navium paene nulla fit mentio, nisi c. 76.

<sup>9</sup> Hoc nomine veterrimam partem urbis ('die Alt-stadt' Beloch.) et emporium Puteolanum brevitatis causa comprehendimus.

<sup>10</sup> Haec est 'die obere Stadt' Belochi; v. Camp. p. 137 seqq.

Permulta autem de urbe Trimalchionis tradita sunt<sup>1</sup> quae Puteolis quam maxime conveniunt. Nam Puteoli in Campania ad mare siti erant, neque longe aberant a Baiis Capuave. Colonia autem Puteolos A.U.C. 560 deducta est, ut supra diximus, et inter magistratus Puteolanos aediles saepe commemorantur.<sup>2</sup> Deinde Augustales ibi multum valebant, ut tituli clare indicant.<sup>3</sup> Urbs autem Puteolanorum in regiones divisa erat, quarum mentio fit in titulis.<sup>4</sup>

Sine dubio autem colonia Puteolana Latina lingua et Romanis institutis, ut coloniae par erat, utebatur. Praeterea animadvertendum est quod munera gladiatoria in titulis Puteolanis memorantur.<sup>5</sup>

Situs autem Puteolorum urbi Trimalchionis quam maxime convenit; magna pars enim Puteolorum proxima mari erat. Commemorantur autem in titulis Puteolanis porticus,<sup>6</sup> balnea,<sup>7</sup> basilica,<sup>8</sup> templa,<sup>9</sup> forum,<sup>10</sup> curia<sup>11</sup> et fortasse alia<sup>12</sup> quorum mentio fit in saturis Petronianis. Praeterea et theatrum<sup>13</sup> et amphitheatrum<sup>14</sup> Puteolis erant. Sed his rebus haud ita multum auctoritatis tribuendum est; talia enim aedificia et in aliis urbibus erant. At 'monimenta' quorum Niceros meminit (c. 62) nisi fallimur eadem sunt quae etiam hodie ad veterem Viam Consularem exstant.<sup>15</sup> Puteolos autem magnum emporium fuisse nescit nemo; atque multos homines exterarum gentium ibi habitasse et tituli et scriptores testantur.<sup>16</sup> Deinde dii qui a Puteolanis colebantur iidem fere erant quos cives urbis Trimalchionis venera-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 23-27 huius commentarioli.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. L. X. 1676; 1725; 1785; 1799; 1801; 1810; 1821.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. L. X. 1551; 1574; 1624; 1839; 1807; 1869; 1870; 1872; 1876; 1877; 1878; 1879; 1880; 1881; 1884; 1887; 1889; 1892; 1567 et al.; Beloch. Camp. pp. 108-11. <sup>4</sup> C. I. L. X. 1695; 1680; 1700; 1631. <sup>5</sup> Ibid. 1785; 1825.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. L. X. 1894; cf. Cic. Acad. Pr. II. 80; Beloch. Camp. p. 134.

<sup>7</sup> C. I. L. X. 3161; cf. 1707. <sup>8</sup> Ibid. 1782; 1783; Beloch. Camp. p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. C. I. L. I. 577, 'aedem Serapi'; C. I. L. X. 1578; 1602; 1613; 1783.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 1698.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. 1782; 1786.

<sup>12</sup> 'Clivus' qui a Ganymede (c. 44) commemoratur fortasse idem est cuius mentio fit in titulo C. I. L. X. 1698. Sed magis puto locum Petroni ad Clivum Capitolinum pertinere.

<sup>13</sup> Gell. XVIII. 5, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Beloch. Camp. pp. 137-8.

<sup>15</sup> Beloch. Camp. p. 143: 'Hier beginnt die grossartige Gräberreihe, die diese Strasse in mehr oder weniger unterbrochener Folge mehr als vier Miglien weit einfasst. Es ist etwas ergreifendes, dieses meilenlange Wandern durch die einsame Todtenstadt; hier mehr als irgendwo sonst wird man inne, dass Puteoli eine Grossstadt gewesen ist.'

<sup>16</sup> Beloch. Camp. pp. 118-22; cf. 115-16.



bantur. Hi dii enim et in titulis Puteolanis et in ea parte saturarum quae ad urbem Campaniae pertinet nomine memorantur: Iuppiter,<sup>1</sup> Mercurius,<sup>2</sup> Venus,<sup>3</sup> Liber pater,<sup>4</sup> Hercules,<sup>5</sup> Fortuna,<sup>6</sup> Lares<sup>7</sup> et Augustus. Neptunus quoque Puteolis colebatur, et Porticus Neptuni in urbe erat, ut Cicero testatur.<sup>8</sup> Ludi autem Augusti temporibus Puteolis celebrabantur<sup>9</sup> et Circi ruinae etiam hodie exstant.<sup>10</sup>

Denique Puteolanos litteras coluisse licet suspiceris. Plinius enim narrat puerum Baianum Puteolos in ludum itasse,<sup>11</sup> et Gellius dicit anagnosten quendam Enni Annales in theatro Puteolano recitasse.<sup>12</sup> Ciceronis autem praedium sub urbe fuit.<sup>13</sup> Haec omnia cum indiciis quae in saturis invenimus bene congruunt.

Reliquum est ut aliud argumentum, quod aliquid certe auctoritatis habet, proferamus. Diximus enim seviros Augustales et in saturis Petronianis et in titulis Puteolanis<sup>14</sup> commemorari. Sed in titulis qui in inferiore parte Italiae inventi sunt 'seviri' et 'seviri Augustales' non commemorantur nisi Puteolis et Regii.<sup>15</sup>

Quae cum ita sint, multa sunt quae Iannelli sententiam confirment; atque ipsa argumenta quae nonnullis contra eam valere visa sunt, re vera non modo eam non evertunt sed etiam probant et demonstrant. Itaque urbem Trimalchionis Puteolos fuisse licet concludamus. Haec fere sunt quae de hac quaestione dicenda putaremus.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. L. X. 1571; 1572; 1575; 1576; 1577; 1578; 1634.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1589; 1590. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1595; 1596; 2483. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1583; 1584; 1586.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 1569; cf. 1570. <sup>6</sup> Ibid. 1557; 1558; 1568. <sup>7</sup> Ibid. 1580; cf. 1581.

<sup>8</sup> Acad. Prior. II. 25, 80. <sup>9</sup> Suet. Vit. Oct. 44: 'Puteolis per celeberrimos ludos.'

<sup>10</sup> Beloch. Camp. p. 142.

<sup>11</sup> Hist. Nat. IX. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Gell. XVIII. 5, 1.

<sup>13</sup> De Fato 2; Ad Fam. V. 15, 2. <sup>14</sup> C. I. L. X. 1567; cf. Beloch. Camp. p. 108.

<sup>15</sup> Schmidt. de Sev. Aug. p. 8; cf. p. 44; Marquardt. 'Staatsverw.' ed. alt. I. p. 203, adn. 8. Sed 'Augustales' nude dicti in multis titulis eius partis Italiae memorantur. Sunt autem qui 'Augustales' et 'seviros' vel 'seviros Augustales' nullo modo dissimiles fuisse putent. Quod nobis quidem incredibile videtur; nam 'sevir et Augustalis' saepe legitur in titulis; Schmidt l. l. pp. 16-19. Sed tota haec quaestio perdifficilis et perobscura est. Cf. Schmidt l. l. pp. 38-49; Marquardt. l. l. pp. 203-4.

## GREEK AND ROMAN BARBERS.

BY FRANK W. NICOLSON.

THE barber's profession was a more important one among the Greeks and Romans than it is in modern days. The barber's implements were then comparatively scarce, and men as a rule made their morning toilet in the barber-shop, because they had not at home the necessary combs, razors, and mirrors. Moreover, the razors and shears were so rude and unwieldy that it no doubt required a skilful hand to use them. The original and chief occupation of the barber was probably that of cutting the hair; that of shaving came later. In the very earliest times we must suppose that every man was his own barber.

We cannot say exactly when the profession of barber first arose in Greece, but we know that it was at a very early date. We have several references to barbers in the Old Comedy. Aristophanes, though he does not use the word *κουρεύς*, has several references to shaving and hair-cutting. Eupolis refers distinctly to the *κουρεύς* (Eup. *Χρ. γένος* VI.). Cf. also Philyllius *Πόλ.* V. and Cratinus *Διον.* II.

As to the Romans, however, the case is different. We know exactly when the first barber appeared in Rome. Varro (*R. R.* II. 11. 10) says that barbers first came to Italy from Sicily, A. U. C. 454, under the leadership of P. Ticinius Mena. These barbers brought over from Sicily may have been Greeks.

The profession of the barber was most flourishing in Rome in the time of the Empire. To their shops the young nobles used to flock to have their locks trimmed and curled. Cf. Seneca, *De Brev. Vitae*, XII. 3. The profession became so popular at last that the barbers occupied elegant shops, finely fitted up with large mirrors, and grew to be a rich class. At last the Emperor interfered. Ammian (XXII. 4), describing the luxurious habits of the time (A.D. 361), tells us that one day the Emperor Julian sent for a barber to cut his hair. He entered, "ambitiose vestitus." The Emperor, astonished at his

magnificent appearance, said, "ego non rationalem iussi sed tonsorem acciri." He then went on to ask the barber how much he made by the practice of his profession; the latter replied that he made enough every day to keep twenty persons and as many horses, besides enjoying a large annual income and many sources of incidental gain. The Emperor, indignant at hearing this, expelled from the kingdom all the men of this trade, together with the cooks and all who made similar profits. In this connection it is interesting to note that Plato (*Rep.* 373 c) classes both barbers and cooks with those personal servants (δίακονοι) which are not necessary to an ideal state, but which would be required in a luxurious city.

We have no description of a barber-shop, as a whole, in Greek or Latin literature; but we can get an idea of what it must have contained from the references to implements used in it. These will be described later. In general, it may be said that the barber-shop did not differ in appearance, externally, from the various other shops of Athens or Rome. Horace (*Ep.* I. 7. 50) refers to the "vacua tonsoris umbra," on which passage Orelli has this note: "Finge tibi tonstrinam Romanam a fronte prorsus apertam, superne et a postica parte atque a lateribus centonibus vel sipariis adversus solem tectam." The word "vacua" in this passage implies that the shop was free from idlers, those who had come for business being gone, while the loungers had not yet come.

Both the Greek and Roman barber-shops were celebrated lounging places. It was to the barber-shop that the Greek or Roman resorted to hear the gossip and the news of the day. The barber-shop was to them what the daily newspaper is to us. Allusions to this custom of gathering at the *κουρείον* are to be found in the literature as early as the Old Comedy. Cf. Eupolis *Mar.* III.; Aristophanes *Av.* 1439, and *Plut.* 338. For later references, cf. Athenaeus XII. 520 c; Lysias XXIII. 3; Demosthenes in *Arist.* 786; Theophrastus *Char.* XI. Plutarch (*Symp.* V. 5) quotes a saying of Theophrastus concerning these gatherings: *δοῦνα συμπόσια παῖζων ἐκάλεε τὰ κουρεία, διὰ τὴν λαλίαν τῶν προσκαθιζόντων.*

These "wineless symposia" existed also among the Romans, and were equally well patronized. For references cf. Martial *Epig.* II. 17; Horace *Sat.* I. 7. 3; Plautus *Amph.* 1013; and Terence *Phor.* 89.

The ancient barbers, like those of our own day, had a great repu-

tation for garrulity. It is easy to understand how they gradually developed this fault. From the earliest times crowds used to flock to their shops, as we have seen, at first from necessity, afterwards, perhaps, because it was the fashion. Being thus compelled, even against his will, to hear all the news, the barber would in turn be led, perhaps also sometimes against his will, to impart the news to others. In this way a habit of excessive talking would easily be formed. Plutarch (*De Gar.* 508) tells an anecdote of King Archelaus who, when asked by the barber πῶς σε κείρω; responded σιωπῶν. Cf. also Plutarch *Nic.* 30.

The work of the modern barber is confined to cutting the hair and caring for the beard. Greek and Roman barbers in addition cleansed and pared the finger-nails of their patrons, besides cutting their corns, plucking stray hairs from their bodies, and removing warts and other corporeal disfigurements. Their chief work, however, consisted in caring for the finger-nails, beard, and hair.

Both in Greece and Rome it was considered very unseemly to appear with the nails unpared. Theophrastus (*Char.* XIX.) describes the "offensive" man (ὁ δυσχερής) as τοιοῦτός τις οἷος ἔχων τοὺς ὀνυχας μεγάλους. The Oligarch, on the other hand, who pays much attention to his personal appearance, is ἀκριβῶς ἀπωνυχισμένος. Barber-shops were provided with small sharp knives (ὀνυχιστήρια λεπτὰ) for use in paring nails. The "cultellum tonsorium" is mentioned by Valerius Maximus (III. 2. 15). To the barber-shop therefore men would naturally resort to have their nails pared, not being supplied with the necessary implements themselves. The Greeks, however, seem not to have patronized the barber so much for this purpose as did the Romans, and probably in the earliest times men pared their own nails. Cf. Xenophon *Mem.* I. 2. 54, Hesiod *Op.* 742.

Among the Romans, on the other hand, it was the common custom to go to the barber's to have the nails pared. Cf. Horace *Ep.* I. 7. 50, where the fact that the young man in the barber-shop is attending to his own nails, contrary to the usual custom, is emphasized by the use of the word "proprius." But the custom is best illustrated by a passage from Plautus (*Aul.* 267), where he describes the miser who, though mean enough to gather together and save the parings of his finger-nails, does not think of trimming them himself, but goes to the barber to have it done.

We learn from a passage in Plautus (*Cap.* 266) that the ancient barbers used either to clip the beard, making use of a comb (*tondere per pectinem*), or shave close to the face (*strictim attondere* or *radere*). A third method of getting rid of the hair on the face is mentioned by Martial (*Ep.* VIII. 47), namely, plucking out the hairs by means of the *τριχολάβιον* (*volsella*). This was the method resorted to by effeminate youths. Cf. Gellius VI. 12. Still other methods of removing the hair from the face were resorted to. Some destroyed them by means of salves (*psilothrum*, *dropax*), of which the ingredients are given by Pliny (*N. H.* XXXII. 47). The tyrant Dionysius being afraid to trust himself in the barber's hands, made his daughters learn to shave him. When they grew up, he dared not trust even them with a razor, but made them burn off his beard and hair with red-hot nut-shells ("candentibus iuglandium putaminibus"). See Cicero *Tusc.* V. 20, and cf. Plutarch *Dio* 9.

That the Romans did not have to depend altogether on the barber, but sometimes shaved themselves, is proved by a passage in Plutarch (*Ant.* 1). With the rough and unwieldy razors of the time, it was but natural that the ancients should have more reason to complain of wounds received in a barber-shop than have we. Pliny (*N. H.* XXIX. 36) recommends cob-webs as excellent to stop the bleeding of such wounds.

The ancients, and particularly the Romans, were careful to have their hair cut when it grew too long. Pollux (II. 33) gives the origin of the word *κουριᾶν*: *κουριᾶν τὸ κομᾶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι κουρᾶς*. Theophrastus uses the phrase *πλειστάκις ἀποκείρασθαι* of the "man of petty ambition" (*Char.* 21). They were also particular as to the cut of their hair, the essential being that the hairs be cut evenly, so that all be of the same length. Thus Horace (*Ep.* I. 1. 94): "Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos occurri, rides." So also a man is described as ridiculous in appearance who is "rusticius tonsus" (Horace *Sat.* I. 3. 31). How great was the dependence of the ancients upon the barber in the matter of hair-cutting is shown by a passage in Artemidorus (*On.* I. 22), who says that to dream of having the hair cut by a barber is a good sign, since no one ever cuts his own hair unless he is in poor circumstances or suffering from some calamity.

There were different modes of cutting the hair ; hence the barber's question (quoted above), *πῶς σε κείρω*. The principal varieties are given by Pollux (II. 29) : *κῆπος, σκάφιον, πρόκοττα, περιτρόχαλα*. (Cod. *περιτροχαλάτη* and *-την* ; emended by Salmasius.)

The distinction between *κῆπος* (or *κηπίον*) and *σκάφιον* is given by Suidas (s.v. *κῆπος*) : *τὸ μὲν οὖν σκάφιον τὸ ἐν χρῶ, ὃ δὲ κῆπος τὸ πρὸ μετώπῳ κεκοσμηθῆναι*. He also defines the phrase *ἐν χρῶ* as relating to a close crop : *ἐν χρῶ κεκαρμένος· πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ χρωτί· οἷον σύνεγγυς καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δέρματος τὰς τρίχας ἐξυρημένους*. Thus the main distinction between *κῆπος* and *σκάφιον* seems to have been that in the latter the hair was cut short, while in the former it was worn moderately long over the forehead.

1. *κῆπος*. From other sources we learn that the above explanation of *κῆπος*, while correct as far as it goes, is incomplete ; that the hair according to this mode was worn long, not only over the forehead, but in a ring around the head, that on the crown of the head being cut short. Schol. Eur. *Trö*. 1175 : *κῆπος κουρᾶς εἶδος, ἣν οἱ κειρόμενοι διεβάλλοντο, κατελίμπανον δὲ τὰς ἔξω τῆς κεφαλῆς περὶ τὰ ἄκρα τρίχας*. Pollux (IV. 140), describing τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν πρόσωπα, seems to refer to this form of hair-cut in the words : *ἡ δὲ μεσόκουρος ὦχρᾶ, ὅπως τῆς κατακόμῃ, πλὴν ὅσα ἐκ μέσου κέκασται*. From the following passages it appears that the form of shears known as the *μία μάχαιρα* (described below) was used to cut the hair on the crown of the head. Hesych. (s.v. *κῆπος*) : *εἶδος κουρᾶς ἣν αἱ θρυπτόμενοι ἐκείροντο ὡς ἐπίπαν (ἐν)<sup>1</sup> μίᾳ μαχαίρᾳ* ; also (s.v. *μῖᾳ μαχαίρᾳ*) : *τὴν λεγομένην κῆπον κουρὰν μῖᾳ μαχαίρᾳ ἐκείροντο*. Poll. (II. 32) : *ἔλεγον δέ τι οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ κείρεσθαι μῖᾳ μαχαίρᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν καλλωπιζομένων*. The reason for using this form of shears will be given later.

2. *πρόκοττα*. It seems best to consider here the third variety of hair-cut mentioned by Pollux (*πρόκοττα*), inasmuch as there is reason to believe that it was not a distinct form at all. For the explanations we have of it do not differ in any respect from those of *κῆπος*, given above. Pollux (II. 29) defines it thus : *τὴν δὲ πρόκοττάν φασιν εἶναι ὅταν τις τὰ ἔμπροσθεν κομᾷ, τὰ πρὸ τῆς κοττίδος. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ Δωριεῖς καλοῦσι τὴν κεφαλὴν*. (Cf. Suidas' description of *κῆπος*,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently inserted by some scribe through ignorance of the meaning of *μῖᾳ μαχαίρᾳ*, though perhaps a mere blunder in copying.

given above: τὸ πρὸ μετώπῳ κεκοσμηῆσθαι.) οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ κουρὰν οἶονται εἶναι τὴν πρόκοτταν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς τὰς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον τρέχας. Hesych. (s.v. πρόκοττα): εἶδος κουρᾶς ἢ κεφαλῆς τρίχωμα· κοττὶς γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ· καὶ οἱ ἀλεκτρύνονες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον. Phot. (s.v. πρόκοτταν): τὴν πρὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχωσιν· κοττὶς γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἡ κεφαλὴ λέγεται. If πρόκοττα was the name of a form of hair-cut, it does not appear from any of these passages that it differed in any respect from the κῆπος, described above. On the other hand, it is reasonable to conclude from the above quotations that the word was used merely as a name for the hair which, as in the κῆπος, grew long over the forehead. It is not found in the literature proper as the name of a hair-cut, but only in the glossaries, as quoted above. It is of Doric origin, as appears from Pollux (loc. cit.).

From a comparison of the words of Hesychius quoted above (οἱ ἀλεκτρύνονες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον) with the phrase used by Herodotus (IV. 175) of the African tribe Μάκαι (οἱ λόφους κείρονται), we may infer that the hair thus allowed to grow long was combed on end, so as to resemble a crest. If the hair was worn in this fashion all around the head in the κῆπος, we can see a reason for the use of the μία μάχαιρα to trim close the hair on the crown of the head. For, as will be shown later, the μία μάχαιρα was a smaller form of shears than the ordinary διπλῇ μάχαιρα, and was operated by one hand. Cf. Steph. Thes. (s.v. ψαλὶς): “ψαλὶς derivatum esse videtur a ψάλλω. . . . Instrumentum, tonsorium scilicet, quo in tondendis crinibus utuntur: quod et ipsum in tonsura velociter agiliterque moveri notum est.” With such an instrument it would be comparatively easy to trim the hair on the crown of the head without cutting the surrounding ring of hair; while such an operation would be difficult with the more clumsy διπλῇ μάχαιρα, which required two hands to manipulate it.

3. σκάφιον. We come now to a consideration of the second mode of hair-cut mentioned by Pollux, namely, σκάφιον. We have seen that this was a close crop (ἐν χρῶ). It is to be noted that the Greeks ordinarily wore the hair short after reaching the age of manhood (cf. Luc. *Herm.* 18: ἐν χρῶ κουρίας); while long hair was considered a sign of pride or foppishness (cf. Schol. Arist. *Eg.* 580: κομῶσι· τρυφῶσι, πλουτοῦσι· τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τρυφᾶν λέγεται καὶ γαυροῦσθαι καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν). But that there was a distinction be-

tween σκάφιον and an ordinary close crop appears from Eustathius, p. 1292, 60: *κείρονται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ μὲν ἐν χρῶ καθὰ καὶ Ἄλανοί, οἱ δὲ σκάφιον ὃ παρὰ τῷ κωμικῷ κείται*. The nature of this distinction appears from the following definition of σκάφιον given by Hesychius (s.v.): *εἶδος κουρᾶς τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὃ κείρεσθαι φασὶ τὰς ἐταιρευούσας· εἶναι δὲ περιτρόχalon*. Cf. also Photius (s.v. σκάφιον): *κουρὰ περιτρόχalos*. The meaning of the term περιτρόχalos is plain from Herod. III. 8: *κείρονται (οἱ Ἀράβιοι) περιτρόχala, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους* (where the MSS. have also *περιξυρῶντες* and *ὑποξυροῦντες*). We may infer, therefore, that in the σκάφιον, in addition to a close crop, the hair on the outside was shaved off in a circle around the head.

It has been supposed by many that the words ἐν χρῶ in this connection refer to the part shaved, and that the hair on the crown of the head was allowed to grow long. The following facts, however, seem to show that the phrase refers to the appearance of the cut as a whole. First, σκάφιον is mentioned as the form of hair-cut common to slaves. Cf. Schol. Arist. *Thesm.* 838: *σκάφιον· εἶδος κουρᾶς δουλικῆς*. That slaves wore the hair short appears from many passages; e.g., Arist. *Av.* 911: *ἔπειτα δῆτα δούλος ὦν κόμην ἔχεις*; Again, σκάφιον is referred to (Plut. *Arat.* 3) as a characteristic mark of an athlete; and that men of that class wore the hair short we learn from Luc. *Dial. Mer.* V. 3 (*καὶ ἐν χρῶ ὥφθη αὐτῇ καθάπερ οἱ σφόδρα ἀνδρώδεις τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἀποκεκαρμένη*), as well as from many representations that have come down to us. It is to be noted also that the *hetaira* referred to in the last quoted passage wore a wig; her hair must therefore have been clipped short all over the head, and not merely shaven around the edges. Still further, the fact that the form σκάφιον gave the appearance of a very closely cropped head is illustrated by two passages in Aristophanes; namely, *Av.* 806, where Peisthetairos, an old, bald-headed man, is compared to a *κόψιχος* σκάφιον ἀποτετιλμένος, and *Thesm.* 838, where the phrase σκάφιον ἀποκεκαρμένην is contrasted with *κόμας καθεῖσαν*. Finally, the words ἐν χρῶ are always found with *κείρειν*, which means "to shear or clip," and not "to shave."

4. *περιτρόχala*. It remains to discuss the fourth variety of hair-cut mentioned by Pollux, namely, *περιτρόχala*. In this form, the hair was shaven in a circle around the head, the hair on the



crown being either clipped short, as in the σκάφιον described above, or allowed to grow long, as seems to have been the case with some barbarian tribes. It is noteworthy that the word does not occur as descriptive of a Greek hair-cut, but is used altogether of barbarians. Thus Herodotus (quoted above) mentions it in connection with the Arabs; Priscus (Excerpt. p. 190, ed. Nieb. 1829) refers to it as a Scythian mode (οὗτος δὲ τρυφῶντι ἐφέκει Σκύθη εὐείμων τε ὦν καὶ ἀποκειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτρόχαλα); Agathias (*Hist.* I. 3) uses the phrase περίτροχα κείρασθαι of the kings of the Franks; and Choerilus (*Frag.* IV.) describes the Jewish tribe Solymi as αὐχμαλέα κορυφὰς, τροχοκουράδες. Näke, in his note on the last mentioned passage (p. 150 f.) shows that περιτρόχαλα is a general term for any form of hair-cut in which the hair is clipped in a circle. The σκάφιον above described should therefore be regarded as a variety of the περιτρόχαλα, its characteristics being a close crop on the crown, in addition to a circular shave around the head. Herodotus (IV. 175) alludes to another variety of the περιτρόχαλα in his description of an African tribe (Μάκαι): οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὐξέσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ. Here the hair was apparently worn long on the crown of the head, while that around the edges was shorn close in places (not shaven), so as to leave tufts here and there resembling crests.

It has been shown that πρόκοττα was not the name of a distinct form of hair-cut, but should be classed with the κῆπος; also that περιτρόχαλα was a general term, embracing among other cuts the σκάφιον. In the passage of Pollux under discussion (II. 29) we may therefore consider κῆπος and σκάφιον to be the two chief forms of Greek hair-cuts. The distinction between them is marked. In the κῆπος, the hair was worn relatively long and combed on end around the head, while a round space in the middle was kept closely trimmed by means of the μία μάχαιρα. In the σκάφιον, the hair was worn closely clipped all over the head, the edges being shaven. The two forms are mentioned side by side in an interesting passage in Lucian (*Lex.* V.): ἐγὼ μὲν ὑποδησάμενος ἐξυόμην τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ ὀδοντωτῇ ξύστρα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ κηπίον ἀλλὰ σκάφιον ἐκεκάρμην, ὥς ἂν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸν κόννον καὶ τὴν κορυφαίαν ἀποκεκομηκώς. Here the Scholiast remarks: τὸ δὲ ἐξυόμην ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκτενίζόμεν· ὀδοντωτὴν γὰρ

ξύστραν τὸ κτένιον φησί. If this explanation is correct, and the use of a comb is alluded to by Lucian, we must infer that a comb could be used with the σκάφιον, but not with the κῆπος; whereas, from the explanation given above of the two forms, just the opposite would seem to be the case. Fritzsche, to remove the difficulty, has conjectured (note to Arist. *Thesm.* 846) that Lucian wrote οὐ σκάφιον ἀλλὰ κηπίον. This is a bold change, however, and not necessary. For the word ξύστρα is merely another form of ξυστρίς, and means "a strigil," in this particular case perhaps furnished with short teeth (ὀδοντωτῇ), and used by athletes for scraping (ἐξνόμην), not combing, their close-cropped hair. The Scholiast has apparently been misled, as have many commentators, by the word ὀδοντωτῇ.

The phrase which follows (ὡς ἄν . . . ἀποκεκομηκώς) makes it clear that the reference is here to a close crop. The allusion is to the custom followed by the young men of Greece (see Becker's *Char.* Sc. IX. Exc. 3) of wearing the hair long until they reached the age of ἔφηβοι, when it was cut off and consecrated to some deity. Sometimes a single lock of hair was kept long during boyhood for this purpose. This was variously called κορυφαία, as in this passage (see also Eust. to Od., p. 1528, 18 f.), σκόλλυς (Poll. II. 29, Eust. loc. cit., Hesych. s.v.), κρέξ (Hesych. s.v., Eust. loc. cit.), μαλλός (Hesych. s.v. σκόλλυς), πλόχμος or πλόκαμος (*ibid.*), κρωβύλος (Hesych., Suid., s.v.), σείρα τριχῶν (Poll. II. 30). The word κόννος, though defined by Hesychius (s.v.) : ὁ πώγων, ἡ ὑπήνη, seems to have been also used in this signification of "a lock of hair." Cf. Hesych. s.v. ἱερόβατον : (Hemst. ἱέρωμα· τὸν) κόννον Λάκωνες ὃν τινες μαλλὸν, σκόλλυν. Also κοινοφόρων· σκολλυφόρων. The word is found in the literature only in this passage, where it is commonly translated "the beard," in accordance with Hesychius. But even if we conceive the young man in question to have worn a beard, contrary to the usual custom of the young men of the time, the mention of the fact that he has shaved it off would have no bearing on the rest of the passage, since it was a close-cropped head and not a smooth shaven face that occasioned the use of the ξύστρα. It seems probable, therefore, that Lucian wrote ὡς ἄν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸν κόννον ἀποκεκομηκώς (meaning the lock of hair described above), and that the more common Attic word κορυφαία was added by a scribe as a gloss on the

rare Laconian word *κόννος*; this gloss may easily have been incorporated into the text by later scribes who did not know the word *κόννος*, and guessed, as Hesychius did, that it meant the beard. It is to be noted that it occurs in the latter sense in no place except in Hesychius. Lucian's fondness for using rare and obsolete words is noticed by Fritzsche, loc. cit.

The common form of hair-cut among the younger men was, as we have seen, a close crop (*ἡ ἐν χρῶ κουρά*). The *σκάφιον* was a modification of this employed by certain classes; namely, slaves (Schol. Arist. *Thesm.* 838), athletes (Plut. *Arat.* 3, Luc. *Dial. Mer.* V. 3), and *hetairae*, in imitation of the athletes (Hesych. s.v. *σκάφιον*, Luc. loc. cit.). The *κῆπος*, on the other hand, was the mode affected by the dandies of the time — *οἱ θρύπτόμενοι* (Hesych. s.v. *κῆπος*), *οἱ καλλωπιζόμενοι* (Poll. II. 32). Cf. also Schol. Arist. *Eg.* 580 (quoted above).

The original meaning of *κῆπος* is "a garden," and its applicability to a form of hair-cut has been variously understood. It seems best to consider the word as referring not to the appearance of the head as a whole, as many have supposed, but to the round plot, so to speak, in the middle, which was kept carefully trimmed, while the rest of the hair, worn comparatively long, surrounded it like a hedge. The word *σκάφιον* meant originally "a bowl"; hence it has been supposed that in cutting the hair after this fashion the Greeks used a bowl, placing it on top of the head and trimming around it. Cf. Salmasius (*De Caes. Vir. et Mul. Coma*, p. 249): "Rustici in ple-risque Galliae locis, alveolo ligneo profundo capiti imposito, comam in circuitu per oram alveoli extantem resecant. Videntur et Graeci hoc idem factitasse, qui *σκάφιον* appellarunt hoc genus tonsurae." This is not likely, however, if we suppose that the hair on the crown of the head was cut short itself, and that the hair on the outside was shaved off, and not clipped. It is more probable that the name arose from the resemblance of the closely cropped head to a bowl. Aristophanes (Frag. 502 D.) uses the word to mean the crown of the head: *ἵνα μὴ καταγῆς τὸ σκάφιον πληγῆς ξύλῳ*.

Two other forms of hair-cut are mentioned by Pollux (II. 29), concerning which we have very little information. The first is

described in the words: ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ πρὸς φθεῖρα<sup>1</sup> κείρεσθαι τὴν πένθιμον κουράν, ὡς Εὐβουλος ὁ κωμικός. The reading ἡ φθεῖρα is supported by Photius: πρὸς φθεῖρα κείρασθαι· Εὐβουλος Δούλω (Δόλωνι). This would be a reference to a close crop, which was at Athens a sign of mourning. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 812, Plut. *Pel.* 33, Xen. *Hell.* I. 7. 8, Eur. *Or.* 966, and Schol. ad loc.

The second form is thus referred to: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τις καὶ Ἐκτόρειος κόμη, περὶ ἧς φησιν Ἀναξίλας, τὴν Ἐκτόρειον τὴν ἐφήμερον κόμην. Τιμαῖος δὲ τὴν κουράν ταύτην προεστάλθαι μὲν δεῖν περὶ τὸ μέτωπον λέγει, τῷ δὲ τραχήλῳ περικεχύσθαι. Cf. also Schol. *Lycorh. Alex.* 1133: ἔκτορος ἡ κόμη, εἶδος κεκαλλωπισμένης τριχός. κόμη τις λέγεται, ἣ τὰ ὀπισθεν καθειμένα, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν κεκαρμένα ἔχει. Hesychius: ἐκτόρειοι κόμαι· ὡς Δαύνιοι καὶ Πευκέτιοι, ἔχοντες τὴν ἀπ' Ἰλίου τοῖς ὤμοις περικεχυμένην τρίχα. If we adopt Kuehn's emendation ὑπεστάλθαι for προεστάλθαι in the quotation from Timaeus given by Pollux, the above passages become consistent with each other, and we gain from them the idea of a close crop in front and long, flowing hair behind. This accords well with the description of Hector given by Homer (*Il.* XXII. 401): ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται κνάεαι πίτναντο. This form of hair-cut seems, like the κῆπος, to have been affected by the fops of the day. Cf. *Lycorh. Alex.* 1133: τοὺς ἐκτορεῖαις ἡγλαϊσμένους κόμαις, and Schol. (quoted above): εἶδος κεκαλλωπισμένης τριχός. Hence Toup's emendation to Anaxilaos (as quoted by Pollux above), reading ἐφήμερον for ἐφήμερον, seems probable. Cf. Theoc. I. 61: τὸν ἐφήμερον ὕμνον.

An almost complete list of the implements employed by the ancient barber may be obtained by a comparison of the following passages: Pollux X. 140; Anth. Pal. VI. 307; Plautus *Curc.* 577; Martial *Epig.* XIV. 36. The most important were the razor (ξυρόν, *novacula*), shears (μάχαιρα, μαχαιρίδες, ψαλῖς, *forfex*), mirrors (κάτοπτρον, *εἰσοπτρον*, *speculum*), combs (κτεῖς, *luxum*), tweezers (*voisellae*), and small knives for trimming the finger-nails (ὀνυχιστήρια λεπτά).

The ancient barber seated his customer in a high chair; cf. Alciphron III. 66 (ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου). He threw over his shoulders a linen

<sup>1</sup> Inferior manuscripts, πρὸς φθείραν, προσφοράν, πρὸς ἐκφοράν.

cloth (ᾠμόλινον, σινδών, *innolucrum*). This is referred to in the following passages: Alciphron III. 66; Diogenes Laertius *Vita Crat.*, VI. 90; Plautus *Cap.* 266, *Curc.* 577. Large mirrors were hung up about the walls of the barber-shop. Cf. Plutarch *De Audit.* 8; Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 29. We learn from Vitruvius IX. 9. 2 that Ctesibius, a barber of Alexandria, invented hydraulic machines while engaged in the work of arranging a large mirror in his shop in such a way that it could be raised or lowered at will.

The combs used by the ancients were made of wood (generally box-wood), of ivory or bone, and sometimes of metal. Those that have been found are as a rule plain and smooth, and do not differ much from those of modern days. For references, cf. Ovid *Fasti* VI. 229; Juvenal *Sat.* XIV. 194. There is no evidence that the Greeks or the Romans used hair-brushes.

The curling-iron (καλαμίς, *calamistrum*) was simply a long tube of metal, or a small, round bar. It was heated in the fire before being used; hence the person using it is called *cinerarius*.

The small, sharp knives used for paring the nails (ὄνυχιστήρια λεπτά) are referred to in the *Anthologia Pal.* VI. 307, in the words σιλόνηχας στόνηχας. The λιποκόπτοι φασγανίδες in the same passage seem to have been also small, sharp knives, used for removing warts, corns, and other callous excrescences. (Jacobs has conjectured here τυλοκόπους, Lobeck λιθοκόπους.)

We have no evidence that the ancient barber, in shaving his customers, used any of the various substitutes for soap known in those days. The only passage that bears on the subject is Plutarch *Ant.* 1, where Antony, after having had a silver basin full of water brought to him, ὡς ξύρεσθαι μέλλων κατέβρεχε τὰ γένηα. The barber may have used only water for wetting the cheeks, without any soap, as is the custom nowadays in some countries. The ψήκτρα δονακίτις mentioned in *Antholog. Pal.* VI. 307, the use of which is not clearly understood, would seem to imply the use of soap. It is defined by Jacobs as "strigilis genus ex arundine qua utebantur ad tollendum σμήγμα."

Razors of very great antiquity have been discovered among remains of the bronze period in Italy and in Greece. They are of a form very different from those of the present day, consisting of a half-moon or sickle-shaped blade, with a small ring-shaped handle.

They are exceedingly rough and clumsy-looking contrivances. Illustrations may be found in Baumeister (s.v. "Barbiere"), Helbig (*Hom. Epōs*, p. 248).

Great confusion has always existed among the commentators as to the forms of the shears used by the ancient barbers, and, in general, as to the use of the words *μάχαιρα*, *μαχαίρις*, etc. This confusion arises from the failure to distinguish the shears (*μάχαιραι*) from the razor (*ξύρόν*). Though the words *μάχαιρα* and *μαχαίρις*, meaning "blade" in general, might apply very well to the razor, they seem to have been used solely to refer to the different forms of the shears. If this distinction is borne in mind, the question becomes much simpler.

Much of the confusion arises from a misinterpretation of Aristophanes, *Ach.* 849: *Κρατῖνος δὲ κεκαρμένος μοιχὸν μῆ μαχαίρᾳ*. The *μία μάχαιρα* is generally assumed to be a razor, and is so explained by Liddell and Scott. They translate the word *μαχαίρις* also as "a razor," quoting among other places Arist. *Eg.* 413 and Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 29. In the first quoted passage, the word, used in the plural, apparently refers to knives of some sort, and not razors; while in the second it is fair to conclude that a razor cannot possibly be meant. For here the skilful barber is represented as having only a *ξύρόν*, a *μαχαίρις*, and a *κάτοπτρον σύμμετρον*. If the *μαχαίρις* is a razor, why mention that instrument twice, to the exclusion of the shears, which were even more important to the Greek barber than the razor?

Böttiger in his "Sabina" (*Exc. to Sc.* V.) has gone so far as to say that the ancient barber did not use shears to cut the hair, but only razors of different sizes, more or less sharp. In the line from Aristophanes, quoted above, he explains *μῆ μαχαίρᾳ* as the name of one of the most elegant hair-cuts, being done with a razor. The latter fact would add nothing to the elegance of the cut, if all hair-cutting was done with razors; and if this was one of the most elegant hair-cuts, we should expect to find it mentioned in the list given by Pollux, quoted above; but he makes no mention of it.

To proceed, then, on the assumption that the words *μάχαιρα* and *μαχαίρις* always refer to some form of shears and not the razor. Pollux' list of barber's implements, quoted above, is as follows: *κτένες*, *κουρίδες*, *μάχαιραι*, *μαχαίριδες*, *ψαλὶς* (called also *μία μάχαιρα*), *ξύρόν*, *ξύροδόχη*, *δονυχιστήρια λεπτά*. The *κουρίς* is, according to Liddell and

Scott, a "razor," (in plural "scissors"). The form of the word (from *κείρω*) would lead us to expect that shears for clipping are meant, and not a razor. Pollux himself, in another place (II. 32), mentions *μαχαιρίδες*, called also *κουρίδες*. The three following words in the above list may be taken to refer to shears, while mention of the razor is reserved till the last. Another argument in favor of this view may be drawn from a second list given by Pollux (II. 32): *κτένες, ξυρών, θήκη (ξύροθήκη), μαχαιρίδες (or κουρίδες)*. If we understand *μαχαίρις* here to refer to the razor, we have no mention at all of shears.

Next, to explain the word *ψαλίς*. In X. 140 Pollux says it is the same as *μία μάχαιρα*. This agrees with Photius' definition: *μίαν μάχαιραν ψαλίδα*. Ἀριστοφάνης, referring doubtless to *Ach.* 849, quoted above. Pollux (II. 32) says *ἔλεγον δέ τι οἱ κωμικοὶ καὶ κείρεσθαι μὴ μαχαίρῃ ἐπὶ τῶν καλλωπιζομένων. τὴν δὲ μάχαιραν ταύτην καὶ ψαλίδα κεκλήκασιν*. Here the MSS. are divided between *μὴ* and *διπλῇ*, but by comparison with Pollux X. 140, and Photius, just cited, we must conclude that *μὴ* is the correct reading.

Thus we have shears mentioned generally under the names *μάχαιραι, μαχαιρίδες, κουρίδες*, while we have the two special varieties *μία μάχαιρα* (called also *ψαλίς*) and *διπλῇ μάχαιρα*. These varieties we must seek to distinguish.

1. *μία μάχαιρα* or *ψαλίς*. This form of shears consisted of a single piece of elastic metal, bent on itself in the middle and having the two edges sharpened. While being used, these shears were held in the hollow of the hand, one blade being pressed by the thumb, the other by the four other fingers. By the pressure of the hand, the sharp blades were thus brought together. The word *ψαλίς* in this connection has never been satisfactorily explained. It means originally a vault or an arch, and so a semi-circular building. It would seem reasonable to suppose that in this case the reference is to the curved or rounded end made by bending the metal on itself. This form of shears is represented in Baumeister, s.v. "Scheren." Also in a Pompeian wall-painting (see *Abh. der Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.* V. taf. VI. 5), where are shown a number of cupids, cutting strings of flowers, one of whom has in his hand a pair of shears of this description. O. Jahn (*ibid.* p. 316) says that shears like these have been found in large numbers at Pompeii and elsewhere.

2. *διπλὴ μάχαιρα*. The second variety of shears resembled in form that most common nowadays, consisting of two pieces of metal fastened together in the middle. A representation may be seen in a terra-cotta group from Tanagra (see *Arch. Ztg.* XXXII. taf. 14). Of the two blades, which are of equal length, one rests upon the head of the person whose hair is being cut, and is held between the thumb and the third and fourth fingers of the right hand; it is also steadied by the left thumb and the forefinger of the left hand, which are put under it to support it. The other blade is held between the thumb and the forefinger of the right hand. The under blade (the one first mentioned) is held firm, and forms a surface for the other blade to work upon. This form of shears is referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* III. 11, p. 290) in the words: *ταῖς δυοῖν μαχαίραις ταῖς κουρिकाῖς*.

It remains to explain the much disputed line in Aristophanes (*Ach.* 849). As we have seen, the *μία μάχαιρα* was the *ψαλῖς*, a form of shears. That the *ψαλῖς* was not the razor, as is generally supposed, is shown by a passage from Aristophanes, in his second *Thesm.* (see Meineke, II. 2, p. 1078), where he enumerates a woman's toilet articles: *ξυρόν, κάτοπτρον, ψαλίδα*, etc. We must infer from this that the *ψαλῖς* was not the same as the *ξυρόν*. This being the case, in the line of Aristophanes in question, clipping must be referred to, and not shaving.

The *ψαλῖς* seems to have resembled in form the old-fashioned sheep-shears still to be found in the rural districts. They were without doubt used for the purpose of shearing sheep by the ancients. Thus Hesychius defines *μάχαιραι* as *οἷς ἀποκείρεται τὰ πρόβατα*. Stephanus in his *Thesaurus* (s.v. *κείρω*) quotes from Galen the words: *τοῖς κειρομένοις προβάτοις ὑπὸ τῶν ψαλίδων*. The advantage which shears of this form possess over the *διπλὴ μάχαιρα* is obvious, inasmuch as they can be operated with one hand, leaving the other free to manage the animal that is being sheared.

Lucian (*Pisc.* 46) proposes as a punishment for a false philosopher, *ἀποκειράτω τὸν πώγωνα ἐν χροῖ πάντῃ τραγοκουρικῇ μαχαίρᾳ*. If a pair of goat-shears be used to clip a false philosopher's beard, what more likely than that a pair of sheep-shears, probably the same in form as the goat-shears, were used to clip an adulterer's hair?



That shears served the double purpose of shearing sheep and clipping men's hair appears from a fragment of Cratinus (Διον. II) :

ἔνεισι δ' ἐντανθοῖ μάχαιραι κουρίδες  
αἷς κείρομεν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς ποιμένας.

The words of Phrynichus (292), discussing the difference in the use of the aorist middle and passive, are interesting in this connection :  
καρῆναι καὶ ἐκάρην φασίν, καὶ εἶναι τούτου πρὸς τὸ κείρασθαι διαφορὰν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ προβάτων τιθέασι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀτίμου κουρᾶς· κείρασθαι δὲ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὃ δὲ φυλάττειν.

If the above explanation be accepted, we must suppose a reference to a close clip of the hair, like the *κῆπος* above described, with perhaps some peculiar characteristic which would distinguish the victim as branded by the law. Liddell and Scott state that the "adulterer's cut" was the *κῆπος*. There is no proof of this, except that both were done with the *μία μάχαιρα*. So Hesychius : τὴν λεγομένην κῆπον κουρὰν μὲν μαχαίρα ἐκείροντο.

## SOME CONSTRUCTIONS IN ANDOCIDES.

BY MORRIS H. MORGAN.

THE following article is purely statistical. Whether we consider Andocides as a mere amateur in oratory, or whether we believe that he was a professional who concealed his art, some facts in regard to his habits of speaking may be of interest. In collecting them, I have used the texts of Blass and Lipsius. These editions and the manuscripts agree where I have noted nothing to the contrary. The references are by orations and sections. The spurious fourth oration is not here included.

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- I. The infinitive with impersonal verbs.
  - II. The infinitive with μέλλω.
  - III. The moods in indir. discourse.

### I.

#### THE INFINITIVE WITH IMPERSONAL VERBS AND PHRASES.

Under this head I set four classes: *a)* of *Necessity*; *b)* of *Possibility*; *c)* of *Propriety, Fitness, etc.*; *d)* δοκεῖ.

*a)* *Necessity*, including δεῖ, χρῆ, ἀνάγκη, ἐπ'ἀνάγκης, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει. With such words we expect to find the inf. or the acc. and inf.

δεῖ, with inf. occurs 15 times, viz.: i. 1, 38, 50, 86, 94, 99, 139; ii. 7, 11; iii. 13, 15, 16 (*bis*), 24, 35. With acc. and inf. 17 times: i. 20, 30 (*bis*), 44, 55 (emend. Reiske), 55 (*fin.*), 74, 135; ii. 1, 2, 19; iii. 15, 28, 33, 34 (*bis*), 35.

χρῆ, with inf. 18 times: i. 8, 36, 41, 43, 57, 91, 105 (*bis*), 128, 129, 131, 139; ii. 7, 17, 18, 25; iii. 2, 34. With acc. and inf. 4 times: i. 114; ii. 2; iii. 23, 29.

ἀνάγκη. Krüger (*Spr.* 62, 1, *Anm.* 3) remarks that ἐστὶ very rarely occurs with this word. This remark holds good in Andocides. The

word occurs five times : *ἀνάγκη* (*sc. ἐστί*) with inf. iii. 26, with acc. and inf. i. 6. With some other part of *εἶναι* expressed it occurs twice, in both instances with dat. of the person upon whom the necessity rests, and an inf. The dat. precedes *ἀνάγκη* in i. 2 ; in ii. 7 the order is different, but the dat. is still closely joined to the impersonal phrase, thus : *ὅπερ ἀνάγκη παθεῖν ἦν αὐτῷ*. With *γενέσθαι* once, ii. 7 : *ὥστ' ἀνάγκην μοι γενέσθαι . . . θάτερον εἰλέσθαι, ἢ μὴ βουλευθέντι κατειπεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντας οὐ περὶ ἐμοῦ μόνου ὀρρωδεῖν . . . ἢ κατειπόντι τὰ γεγενημένα αὐτὸν μὲν ἀφεθέντα μὴ τεθνάναι*. In the first part of this sentence the dat. *μοι* belongs to *ἀνάγκη* ; with the following inf. *κατειπεῖν* we have a dat. attracted by *μοι* (Krüger, 55, 2, *Anm.* 5) ; the dat. *κατειπόντι* follows the same construction ; finally, in *αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντα* we get the proper case of the subject of *τεθνάναι*. On this shifting of case W. Francke (*de Andoc. oratione quae est de pace*, p. 17) compares i. 9, 37, 109 ; iii. 21.

*ἐπάναγκες* (copula omitted) occurs once with inf., iii. 12.

*ἀναγκαίως* *ἔχει* occurs twice ; once with inf., iii. 36 ; once with dat. and inf. in this order : *ἀναγκαίως νῦν ἡμῖν ἔχειν πολεμεῖν*, iii. 13.

*δ*) *Possibility*, including *ἔστι*, *ἔξεστι*, *πάρεστι*, *ὑπάρχει*, *ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστι*, *ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐστι*, *ἐγγίγνεται*, *γενόμενον ἐφ' ὑμῖν*, *οἷόν τε ἐστι*, *ἀδύνατον*, *ὁδόν τε καὶ πόρον*. With all these is found the simple inf. or the dat. and inf., except with *οἷόν τε* and *ἀδύνατον*, where the acc. and inf. is also found.

*ἔστι*, with inf. once, i. 57 ; with dat. and inf. 6 times (+ 1 doubtful case, i. 138, where *οὐ πέλῃν* of the codd. is printed *οὐκ ἐξῇν* by Blass after Dobree, and *οὐπερ ἦν* by Lipsius after the Tur.). The dat. is always that of a personal pron. except in three instances (i. 75, 94 ; iii. 40). Of all the seven datives, four stand before the impersonal verb (i. 75, 94, 100 ; iii. 40), and two with the doubtful instance follow the impersonal and are directly before the inf. (i. 20, 138, 145).

*ἔξεστι* with inf. 7 times + 2 in decrees (i. 86, 89 emend. Sauppe, Bl., Lips., iii. 12 (*dis*), 14, 28, 40 + i. 77, 87) ; with dat. and inf. 10 times + 2 in decrees + the doubtful instance named above under *ἔστι*. The dat. is that of a pers. pron. in all save four instances (i. 4, 86 + i. 79, 84 in decrees). Of the 13 datives, four only stand before *ἔξεστι* (i. 4 with a ptc. following *ἔξεστι* in dat., 105 ; iii. 21, 33) ; nine come after it. Of these nine, two require no special

comment (i. 33, 55) ; one is the doubtful instance (i. 138) ; there have ptcs. joined to them and preceding the inf. (ii. 26 ; iii. 20 + i. 84). The remaining three exhibit points of order not uninteresting ; in two, *ἔξεστι* with the dat. stands between two inf., as *εἰπεῖν δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ βουλευῖν* (i. 75 ; cf. 79) ; in one the dat. is saved up to the end, after the inf., for emphasis, *μηδὲ ἐξῆν συκοφαντεῖν μηδενί*, i. 86.

*πάρεστι*, only with dat. and inf., twice, in both cases the dat. being a pers. pron. and following the impersonal directly, ii. 2, 11.

*ὑπάρχει*, only with dat. and inf., twice ; once with the pron. following the impersonal (ii. 19), and once with the pron. preceding and an adj. in the dat. following (ii. 26).

*ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστι*, with inf. once, ii. 19 ; ci. iii. 41, where *ἐστίν* has a subject *ταῦτα πάντα* expressed.

*ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐστί*, once, with inf., i. 39.

*ἐγγίγνεται*, once with dat. and inf., the dat. being a pers. pron. preceding the impersonal, i. 141.

*γενόμενον ἐφ' ὑμῖν*, acc. abs., once with inf., i. 81.

*οἷόν τε* occurs five times. The copula *ἐστι* is omitted three times (i. 7 (*δὲ*), 86). The simple inf. occurs once, i. 7. The acc. and inf. once, *οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑμᾶς πρότερον εἰδέναι πρὶν . . .*, i. 7. The dat. (of a pers. pron.) with inf. three times. In two of these latter cases the order of words is noteworthy: *οἷόν τε μοί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν*, ii. 20 ; *τάδε γὰρ οὐ ψευσαμένῳ μοι λαθεῖν οἷόν τ' ἐστι τοὺς γε πρεσβυτέρους ὑμῶν*, ii. 26, where the dat. precedes the inf., which in turn precedes the impersonal. The third case is noteworthy, because the texts of Blass and Lipsius differ. The former in i. 86 has: *ἀρὰ γε ἔστιν ἐνταυθοῖ ὃ τι περιελείπετο περὶ οὗτου οἷόν τε ἢ ἀρχὴν εἰσάγειν ἢ ὑμῶν πράξαι τι, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ τοὺς ἀναγεγραμμένους νόμους* ; Blass follows the codd. (so Bekker, Schiller, Marchant), but Lipsius prints *τινα* after Sluiter. The order of words here is just like that noted in the last example under *ἔξεστι*, the dat. standing at the end, after the inf. In that example it is true that the acc., if used, might have been mistaken for the object of *συκοφαντεῖν* instead of the subject. But the example suffices to show that we may have a dat. even as far away from the impersonal as the end of the sentence and after the inf. Another case of a dat. standing close to the inf. is that quoted just above (ii. 26), where the dat. and inf. precede *οἷον*. The

following case occurs in *Thuc.* vii. 14 : *τούτων δὲ πάντων ἀπορώτατον τό τε μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι ταῦτα ἐμοὶ κωλύσαι τῷ στρατηγῷ*. This is the only case quoted by Kühner (§ 585, *Anm.* 2) of a dat. and inf. with *οἶόν τε*, which he calls a very rare construction instead of the acc. We have seen, however, that it is found in two undoubted passages in *And.*, and I believe that this third may be retained in the list.

*ἀδύνατον* occurs twice, the copula being omitted in the first case, where the inf. is used preceding the impersonal (i. 8). The acc. with inf. follows the impersonal in ii. 9.

Among phrases of possibility I have set the following : *ὥστε ὁδόν τε καὶ πόρον μηδαμῇ ἔτι εἶναι μοι εὐθαρσεῖν*, ii. 16. On this, in Marchant's recent edition, is the following note : "A harsh and unusual use of inf. without article, esp. in an oblique case. Cf. *Thuc.* iii. 40, *συνγνώμην ἁμαρτεῖν λήψονται*." To my mind the whole phrase preceding the inf. is one of possibility, or rather impossibility, and this relieves the simple inf. of harshness. The position of the dat. is supported by a number of the instances above. It is true that we expect a genitive with *ὁδόν*, and I have observed no other instance of the inf. with this word in the sense of *method*. With *πόρος* we have dat. and inf. in *Eur. Med.* 260 sq. :

*ἦν μοι πόρος τις μηχανή τ' ἐξευρεθῇ  
πόσιν δίκην τῶνδ' ἀντιτίσασθαι κακῶν.*

An instance of *μηχανή* with simple inf. in prose occurs in *Plat. Phaed.* 72 D, and of acc. with inf. in 86 A. Our phrase, therefore, though unusual, is not unsupported by analogous phrases. Its harshness to the ear would depend on the question whether the speaker's audience were accustomed to such usages in colloquial language. It should be remembered that Andocides, if he was not utterly artless, was one of those speakers who seek popularity by endeavoring to seem more unlearned than they really are.

c) *Propriety, fitness, qualification*, including *διαφέρει*, *προσῆκει*, *λυσitelēi*, and the following with *ἐστί*, — *ἄμεινον*, *κρέττον*, *κράτιστον*, *ἡδιστον*, *ἄξιον*, *εἰκός*, *δίκαιον*, *μακρόν*, *ὄσιον*, *προὔργον*.

*διαφέρει* occurs once, with dat. and inf., in this order : *οἷς εἰθισμένοις ἤδη ἀναισχυντεῖν οὐδὲν διαφέρει εἰπεῖν . . . τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν*, ii. 4.

*προσῆκει*, four times, with dat. and inf. The dat. of a pers. or rel. pron. precedes the impersonal twice (i. 18, 103) ; in two cases the

dat. of rel. pron. is followed by dat. in the predicate : οἷς καὶ προσήκει ἀνδράσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δίκαιοις, i. 136 ; οἷς προσήκει ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι, i. 149.

λυσιτελεῖ, twice. It stands between two infs., τεθνήσκει νομίσασα λυσιτελεῖν ἢ ζῆν ὁρώσα τὰ γινόμενα, i. 125. With a following dat. and inf., ii. 10.

ἄμεινόν ἐστι twice, with the inf., once preceding the impersonal (iii. 1), and once following it (iii. 41).

κρείττον ἐστι, once, with following inf., i. 53.

κράτιστόν ἐστι, once, with following inf., i. 8.

ἡδιστόν ἐστι, once, with following inf., ii. 10.

ἄξιον, with no copula, twice. With following inf., i. 124 ; with ὑμῖν preceding and inf. following, i. 140.

εἰκός, occurs four times with the copula (i. 6, 7, 50, 53), and four times without it (ii. 9, 19, 26 ; iii. 2). It is used always with acc. of a rel. or pers. pron. and inf. The acc. precedes the impersonal twice (i. 53 ; ii. 19) ; it stands between εἰκός and the copula twice (i. 6, 7) ; it follows the impersonal four times (i. 50 ; ii. 9, 26 ; iii. 2).

δίκαιον occurs once with the copula (i. 119) and twice without it (i. 19, 143). The simple inf. once (i. 19) ; the acc. ἡμᾶς once precedes the impersonal (i. 119), and once follows it (i. 143).

μακρόν ἂν εἴη μοι λέγειν occurs once, ii. 15.

ὅσιον ὄν, acc. abs., where ὄν is restored by Frohberger (so Bl., Lips.), occurs with following σοι and inf. in i. 116.

προὔργου once, in the following phrase : οὐδὲν προὔργου ἀκούσαι ὑμῖν, ii. 21.

d) The impersonal δοκεῖ, in the sense of *it seems best*, etc., occurs eight times with inf. It is followed by inf. alone once (i. 81) ; the dat. of a pers. pron. precedes δοκεῖ twice (i. 8 ; iii. 13), and follows it in the other cases (i. 12, 28, 41, 73, 89). An acc. as subject of the inf. is found in four of the last-named places, twice referring to the person denoted by the dat., as ἔδοξε τοῖς πρυτάνεσι τοὺς μὲν ἀμνη-  
τους μεταστήσασθαι, αὐτοὺς δ' ἰέναι . . . i. 12, cf. 89 ; and twice to other persons, as ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ . . . τοὺς μεμνημένους . . . διαδικάσαι, i. 28 ; cf. 41.

## II.

## THE INFINITIVE WITH μέλλω.

In this periphrastic form we expect to find the pres. or fut., rarely the aor. inf. Meisterhans (*Gram. der Att. Inschr.*, p. 200) cites two instances of the fut. and one of the pres., with none of the aor. In Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, § 73,<sup>1</sup> no distinction between the pres. and fut. is attempted. Krüger (*Gr.* § 53, 8, *Anm.* 3) draws the following distinction: "Einen Unterschied zwischen μέλλειν mit dem Infinitiv des Präsens und des Futurs scharf durchzuführen ist schwierig. Doch scheint man im Allgemeinen wo eine positiv bevorstehende, unmittelbare Verwirklichung oder ein dauernder Zustand zu bezeichnen ist lieber den erstern; wo etwas das sich eben nur voraussetzen oder berechnen lässt, wie vorzüglich in allgemeinen Sätzen, lieber den letztern gebraucht zu haben." There are two cases of the pres. in Andocides, and both confirm Krüger's remark (ii. 21; iii. 41). A comparison of ii. 21 with the fut. in ii. 20 will make this especially clear. A comparison of the pres. in iii. 41 at the end of a speech with the fut. in i. 2 at the beginning of a speech will also be found interesting. The fut. inf. is found 10 times + 2 by emendation (i. 2, 21, 66, 67, 68, 111; ii. 8, 10, 20; iii. 2; + i. 11, 51). In these, Krüger's remark is supported except in two (i. 111; ii. 8), where his principle seems to require the pres. In the first of the two emended passages (i. 11) the codd. have αἰρεῖσθαι, for which editors after Bekker have read ἀρεῖσθαι. The verb αἰρέω certainly cannot stand here, and Krüger's principle is adverse to the present of αἶρω. In the second passage (i. 51) the codd. have ἀπολείσθαι, the only case in And. of the rare aor. in this construction. It was rightly emended by Stephanus (whom all edd. follow) to ἀπολείσθαι (found also in i. 66, 67).

## III.

## MOODS IN INDIRECT DISCOURSE.

1. *The Infinitive.*

Under this head I set six classes: verbs signifying a) say; b) think; c) know; d) learn; e) hope, expect, promise, etc.; f) δοκέω, seem.

<sup>1</sup> New edition, 1890.

a) Verbs of *saying*, including φημί, φάσκω, λέγω, εἶπον, ὁμολογέω, μνηνύω, ἔξαρκος ἦν.

φημί, 19 times, i. 17, 22, 30, 38, 39 (*bis*), 41, 42, 43 (*bis*), 111, 113, 125, 139; ii. 25; iii. 27, 33, 34, 40. It never takes ὅτι or ὥς in And.

φάσκω, 4 times, i. 27, 37, 47, 127. It is always in the form φάσκων, and never takes ὅτι or ὥς in And.

λέγω, 3 times. Of this verb Professor Goodwin says (*M. T.* 753, 1, cf. 3 end) that the active voice generally has ὅτι or ὥς. The three cases in And. here treated are all active; one is followed by the inf. alone (iii. 36); the other two by a clause with ὅτι, after which, however, follows a second principal clause of indir. disc. in inf. (i. 12, 36). The verb λέγω is found active with ὅτι or ὥς 19 times; see below.

εἶπον, once (i. 57), a rare usage (*M. T.* 753, 3). This verb is found also with ὅτι and ὥς; see below.

ὁμολογέω, *admit*, twice, i. 65; iii. 13.

μνηνύω, *lay information*, twice, i. 16, 17.

ἔξαρκος ἦν, with μή and inf., i. 125.

In the following sentence there is no verb expressed upon which the inf. may be said to depend: εἰδεῖτο σφύζεσθαι φράσας τοὺς πείσαντας αὐτὸν λέγειν ταῦτα· εἶναι δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην . . . καὶ Ἀμύντον, i. 65. Here εἶναι can hardly be said to depend on a part of φράζω understood, for that verb perhaps never takes the inf. in the sense of *say*, *declare*. It depends rather on the idea of *saying* in the context (*M. T.* 757).

δ) Verbs of *thinking*, including οἶμαι, νομίζω, ἡγέομαι, πιστεύω, δοκέω.

οἶμαι or οἶμαι, 9 times. On account of the questions that have arisen about the tenses with this verb (see L. and S. *s.v.*), I give the full usage of them in And. In seven<sup>1</sup> of the instances the acc. and inf. occur; the pres. inf. with αὖν, i. 21 (*ter*), 139 (*bis*); fut. inf., i. 104, 123; aor. with αὖν, i. 21; iii. 13; aor. alone in codd., but αὖν inserted by Dobree (*Bl. Lips.*), i. 102. In the other two instances we have the simple inf., pres. i. 131, fut. ii. 8.

νομίζω, *believe*, *think*, 12 times: i. 9, 32, 64, 70, 97 (in a decree), 107, 125, 132, 137, 148; ii. 2; iii. 29.

<sup>1</sup> This number refers to οἶμαι; in some cases more than one inf. follows it, as the number of the instances of tenses will show.



ἡγέομαι, *think*, 4 times : i. 9, 23, 139 ; ii. 3.

πιστεύω, *believe*, twice : i. 2, 3.

δοκέω, *think*, twice, with fut. inf., i. 101 (end) ; iii. 15.

c) Verbs of *knowing*, including only γινώσκω, which in its sense of *decide*, *make up one's mind*, occurs twice with inf. in ii. 10 (*M. T.* 915, 3). It is used also with ptc. and with ὅτι.

d) Verbs of *learning*, including only εἰρίσκω, once, i. 60 (*M. T.* 915, 6). It is used also with ptc.

e) Verbs of *hoping*, *expecting*, *promising*, *swearing*, and the like, including ἐλπίζω, προσδοκάω, ὁμολογέω, ὑπισχνέομαι, ἐπαγγέλλομαι, συντίθεμαι, ὁμνυμι.<sup>1</sup> See *M. T.* 136.

ἐλπίζω, once, with fut. inf., iii. 27.

προσδοκάω, once, referring to fut. time, with aor. inf. (not in indir. disc., *M. T.* 118), iii. 27.

ὁμολογέω, *promise*, once, with fut. inf., i. 62.

ὑπισχνέομαι, once, with fut. inf., i. 136.

ἐπαγγέλλομαι, *promise*, once, with fut. inf., i. 15.

συντίθεμαι, *agree*, once, with fut. inf., i. 42.

ὁμνυμι occurs with inf. 4 times + 1 in a decree. Of these, three are of pres. or past time, with pres. or aor. inf., i. 126, 127 (*dis*). The two cases that remain refer to fut. time ; in one the regular fut. inf. is used (i. 90) ; in the other (i. 97 in a decree) the codd. give pres. inf. ἀποκτείνευν, but Bl. prefers and Lips. after Droysen gives ἀποκτενεῖν. This emendation is an easy one, and it is most probable from the fact that the pres. inf. scarcely ever occurs after this verb. Kühner (§ 389, *Anm.* 8, end) gives four cases, but all save one submit to the same easy emendation. That one is *Dem.* xxiii. 170 (quoted also in *M. T.* 136, end). Meisterhans found only fut. inf. in the Attic inscriptions (*Gram.* § 86, 7). The aor. inf. (occurring also in *Dem. l.c.*) would not be surprising, as denoting a single act (cf. iii. 27), but the pres. with ὁμνυμι would seem to serve no purpose.

The above figures show that with verbs of this class, the inf. referring to fut. time is once in the aor. (iii. 27) and 6 times in the fut. + 1 probable emendation from the pres. (i. 15, 42, 62, 90, 136 ; iii. 27 + i. 97).

<sup>1</sup> In this list are not included ἀράομαι and ἐπτεύχομαι (i. 31, 98), for reasons that will be apparent to one consulting the passages.

*δοκέω*, *seem*, in the personal construction (*M. T.* 754) is found 19 times; with dat. and inf. 9 times, i. 5 (dat. secl. Bl.), 33, 56, 113, 132, 133, 140; ii. 5; iii. 1; with inf. 10 times i. 20, 36, 53, 56, 60, 67, 101, 140 (*bis*); ii. 16. In its impersonal sense the verb has been considered above, and also in the meaning *think*.

## 2. The Participle.

Under this head I set seven classes (*M. T.* 904): verbs signifying to *a*) see, *b*) know, *c*) learn, *d*) remember, *e*) show, *f*) appear, *g*) prove.

*a*) Verbs of *seeing*, including only *ὁράω*, seven times with ptc. in acc.: i. 9, 121, 122 (*bis*), 139; ii. 2, 23. It is found also with *ᾤτι*; see below.

*b*) Verbs of *knowing*, including *οἶδα* and *γινώσκω*.

*οἶδα*, twice with ptc. in acc., i. 14 (in testimony), 23. It is found also with *ὥς* and *ᾤτι*.

*γινώσκω*, twice, once with ptc. in acc. (i. 104) and once in nom. (ii. 15). It is found also with inf. and *ᾤτι*.

*c*) Verbs of *learning*, including *εὑρίσκω*, *καταλαμβάνω*, and *πυνθάνομαι*.

*εὑρίσκω*, three times, once with acc. (i. 82), and twice in the passive with a following nom. of ptc. (ii. 8, 13). It is found also with inf.

*καταλαμβάνω*, once with ptc. in acc., i. 40.

*πυνθάνομαι*, once with ptc. in acc., ii. 13.

*d*) Verbs of *remembering*, including only *ἀναμνησκόμαι*, once, with ptc. in nom. (i. 146). It is found also with *ᾤτι*.

*e*) Verbs of *showing*, including *ἀποδείκνυμι*, *ἀποφαίνω*, *ἐνδεικνύω*.

*ἀποδείκνυμι*, three times, with acc. of ptc. (i. 11, 24, 47). It is found also with *ὥς*.

*ἀποφαίνω*, once with acc. of ptc., i. 41.

*ἐνδεικνύω*, once with acc. of ptc., ii. 14.

*f*) Verbs of *appearing*, including *φαίνομαι* and the phrases *δηλός* and *καταφανής ἐστι*.

*φαίνομαι*, five times, with nom. of ptc., ii. 1, 16 (*bis*), 23, 26.

*δηλός ἐστι*, once, with nom. of ptc., ii. 14 (*M. T.* 907).

*καταφανής ἐστι*, once, with nom. of ptc., i. 116.

g) Verbs of *proving*, including ἐλέγχω and ἐξελέγχω.

ἐλέγχω, three times; once in act. with ptc. in acc. (i. 60); twice in pass. with ptc. in nom. (i. 23, 24). It occurs also with ὅτι and ὥς.

ἐξελέγχω, once, in pass., with ptc. in nom. (i. 7). It occurs also with ὥς.

### 3. Ὅτι and a Clause in Indir. Discourse.<sup>1</sup>

Under this head I set eight classes<sup>2</sup>: verbs signifying to a) say, b) think, c) know, d) learn, e) see, f) hear, g) prove, h) remember.

a) Verbs of *saying*, including λέγω, εἶπον, εἶρημαι, ἀποκρίνομαι, ἀγγέλλω, ἀπαγγέλλω, and the phrase κληδὼν κατεῖχεν.

λέγω, eight times, always in a secondary tense, the dependent verb<sup>3</sup> unchanged three times (i. 39, 62, 112), and changed to opt. five times (i. 12, 113, 115 (*bis*),<sup>4</sup> 118). Used also with inf. and ὥς.

εἶπον, four times, with the dependent verbs always changed to opt., i. 40, 41, 61, 64. Used also with inf. and ὥς.

εἶρημαι, once, with indic., ii. 5.

ἀποκρίνομαι, once, secondary, with dependent verb changed to opt., i. 42.

ἀγγέλλω, once, secondary, with ind., ii. 20.

ἀπαγγέλλω, once, secondary, with dependent verb changed to opt., i. 4.

κληδὼν κατεῖχεν,<sup>5</sup> once, with dependent verb unchanged, i. 130.

b) Verbs of *thinking*, including only ἐνθυμέω, three times, primary, i. 2, 7, 140.

c) Verbs of *knowing*, including γινώσκω, οἶδα, ἐπίσταμαι.

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι, because, omitted; for an example, see i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Among these I do not include δῆλον ὅτι in i. 30, as I believe that the phrase is there adverbial; cf. Kühner, § 551, 6, *Anm.* 1. For a different view, see Marchant's note on the passage.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the principal verb in indir. disc. No account is taken in this article of the subordinate verbs, the object being simply to give the statistics about the principal clauses.

<sup>4</sup> The verb λέγω occurs here twice; the second time it is followed by three dependent verbs, the second of which is indic. in codd., and amended to opt. by Dobree (Bl. Lips.). The three verbs, therefore, are reckoned as one construction after λέγω.

<sup>5</sup> Codd. κατέσχευ emend. Bl.; so Lips.

γινώσκω, four times, thrice primary (i. 24 ; ii. 18 ; iii. 1) ; once secondary, the dependent verb changed (i. 39). Found also with inf. and ptc.

οἶδα, eight times, primary : i. 6, 30, 106, 109, 130 ; ii. 21, 27 ; iii. 8. It occurs also with ptc. and with ὥς.

ἐπίσταμαι, once, primary, i. 20. Used also with ὥς.

d) Verbs of *learning*, including only μανθάνω, once, primary, i. 56.

e) Verbs of *seeing*, including only ὁράω, once, secondary, with dependent verb changed to opt., i. 86. Found also with ptc.

f) Verbs of *hearing*, including only ἀκούω, three times, secondary, with dependent verb changed, i. 39, 115, 116.

g) Verbs of *proving*, including ἐλέγχω,<sup>1</sup> βασανίζω.

ἐλέγχω, twice, primary, i. 26 (*bis*). Found also with ptc. and ὥς.

βασανίζω, once, secondary, with indic., i. 64. Found also, in the same sentence, with ὥς.

h) Verbs of *remembering*, including μέμνημαι and ἀναμνησκόμαι.

μέμνημαι, once, primary, i. 15.

ἀναμνησκόμαι, twice, primary : i. 141 ; ii. 8. Used also with ptc.

NOTE. The particle *οἷ* introduces direct discourse four times : i. 49, 63, 120, 135.

#### 4. 'Ως and a Clause in Indir. Discourse.<sup>2</sup>

Under this head I set five classes : Verbs signifying a) say, δ) think, c) know, d) prove, e) show, teach.

a) Verbs of *saying*, including λέγω, εἶπον, ἐρῶ, λογοποιεῖν, κατηγορεῖν, ἀντιλέγω, ἀνακράζω, phrases with ἀπολογία.

λέγω, 11 times ; four times primary (i. 91, iii. 1, 10, 33) ; seven times secondary, followed by a dependent verb unchanged once (i. 4), changed six times (i. 19, 22, 36, 37, 40, 122). Found also with inf. and *οἷ*.

εἶπον, once,<sup>3</sup> with dependent verb unchanged, i. 58. Found also with inf. and *οἷ*.

<sup>1</sup> The clause with *οἷ* in i. 61 depends rather on a verb of saying implied than upon ἐξήλεγεα.

<sup>2</sup> Cases of ὥς, *how*, are here omitted ; as e.g. i. 62 ; ii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> The case of superfluous ὥς in i. 29 is not here included.

ἐρῶ, once, with dependent verb understood, ii. 18.

λογισποιεῖν, once, primary, iii. 35.

κατηγορέω, twice, secondary, with dependent verb changed, i. 110,<sup>1</sup>

137.

ἀντιλέγω, once, primary, i. 94.

ἀνακράζω, once, secondary, with dependent verb unchanged, i. 43.

ἀπολογία ἐστί, once, primary, i. 30 ; ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, once, i. 10.

b) Verbs of *thinking*, including only γνώμη in a phrase, thus : εἰ οὖν τιν . . . γνώμη τοιαύτη περιεσθῆκει . . . ὥς . . . ἐμήνυσα, i. 54.

c) Verbs of *knowing*, including οἶδα and ἐπίσταμαι.

οἶδα, once, primary, ii. 22. Found also with ptc. and ὅτι.

ἐπίσταμαι, once, primary, ii. 20. Found also with ὅτι.

d) Verbs of *proving*, including ἐλέγχω, ἐξελέγχω, βασανίζω, μαρτυρέομαι, and a phrase with μάρτυρες.

ἐλέγχω, once, primary, i. 35. Found also with ptc. and ὅτι.

ἐξελέγχω, once, primary, iii. 10. Found also with ptc.

βασανίζω, once, secondary, with dependent verb unchanged, i. 64. Found also, in the same place, with ὅτι.

μαρτυρέομαι, once, primary, i. 113.

μάρτυρες, once, in the phrase ὥς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τοὺς μάρτυρας, i. 123.

e) Verbs of *showing* and *teaching*, including ἀποδείκνυμι, διδάσκω, and the phrase φανερὸν ποιῆσαι.

ἀποδείκνυμι, once, passive, primary, i. 29. Found also with ptc.

διδάσκω, twice, primary : i. 72 ; iii. 41.

φανερὸν ποιῆσαι, once, primary, i. 33.

NOTE. An examination of the moods of all the principal verbs in indir. disc. shows that after a secondary tense Andocides changed the dependent verb to the opt. 31 times, and left it unchanged 14 times. Of these 14 cases, four are imperfects and one an optative with ἄν.

<sup>1</sup> νόμος δ' ἦν (codd.); εἴη Bekker (Bl. Lips.); ἦν could stand syntactically, but the sense of the context demands opt. representing the pres. indic.; cf. i. 115 and M. T. 674, 2.

There follows a comparative table of verbs and phrases, alphabetically arranged, showing the constructions of indir. disc. used by Andocides.

VERB.	INF.	PTC.	δτι	ὡς	VERB.	INF.	PTC.	δτι	ὡς
ἀγγέλλω . . .			1		εὐρίσκω . . .	1	3		
ἀπαγγέλλω . . .			1		ἡγέομαι . . .	4			
ἀκούω . . .			3		καταλαμβάνω . .		1		
ἀνακράζω . . .				1	καταφανής . . .		1		
ἀναμνησέομαι . .		1	2		κατηγορέω . . .				2
ἀντιλέγω . . .				1	κληδών . . .			1	
ἀποδείκνυμι . . .		3		1	λέγω . . .	3		8	11
ἀποκρίνομαι . . .			1		λογοποιέω . . .				1
ἀπολογία . . .				2	μανθάνω . . .			1	
ἀποφαίνω . . .		2			μαρτυρέομαι . .				1
βασανίζω . . .			1	1	μάρτυρες . . .				1
γιγνώσκω . . .	2	2	4		μέμνημαι . . .			1	
γνώμη . . .				1	μηνύω . . .	2			
δῆλος . . .		1			νομίζω . . .	12			
διδάσκω . . .				2	οἶδα . . .		2	8	1
δοκέω, <i>seem</i> . . .	19				οἶμαι . . .	9			
" <i>think</i> . . .	2				ὀμνυμι . . .	5			
εἶπον . . .	1		4	1	ὁμολογέω . . .	3			
εἶρημαι . . .			1		ὀράω . . .		7	1	
ἐλέγχω . . .		3	2	1	πιστεύω . . .	2			
ἐλπίζω . . .		1			προσδοκάω . . .	1			
ἐνδεικνύω . . .		1			πυνθάνομαι . .		1		
ἐνθυμέω . . .			3		συντίθεμαι . . .	1			
ἔξαρκος . . .	1				ὑπισχνέομαι . .	1			
ἐξελέγχω . . .		1		1	φαίνομαι . . .		5		
ἐπαγγέλλομαι . .	1				φανερὸν ποιῆσαι				1
ἐπίσταμαι . . .			1	1	φάσκω . . .	4			
ἐρῶ . . .				1	φημί . . .	19			



## GAJUS OR GAÏUS?

BY FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

WHETHER the praenomen *Gaius* was two syllables or three, ought not to be a matter of doubt, and there must be plenty of scholars who are well aware of the facts. Nevertheless, misleading statements are found in several of the books to which one would naturally turn for instruction on such a point,<sup>1</sup> and the writer has often wished that some one would collect the evidence bearing on it. But the immediate occasion of the present attempt is the fact, recently brought to his notice, that the two Latin dictionaries most used in this country — both the work of the same accomplished scholar — give exactly opposite directions for the pronunciation of the word.

The evidence for the two forms respectively stands about thus : —

### *Testimony for Gaïus : —*

Cassius *Gaiūs* hic operarius, quem Cephalonem.

Lucil. v. 355 Lachm. (xi, v. 22, Müll.).

Cinnast *Gaiūs*, is sibi parauit.

Catull. 10. 30.

post *Gaiūm*que Luciumque consedit.

Martial, v, 14.

peruigil in pluma *Gaiūs* ecce iacet.

Martial, ix, 92.

*Gaiūs* a prima tremebundus luce salutat.

Ibidem.

*Gaiūs* et mallet uerbera mille pati.

Ibidem.

non mauis quam ter *Gaiūs* esse tuus.

Ibidem.

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, in Madvig's grammar, and in Gossrau's (1880), and in Kühner's large grammar (1877), and Schweizer-Sidler's new work (1888), no pronunciation but *Gajus* (or *Cajus*) is mentioned. Others represent the trisyllabic form as exceptional or poetic. So Roby's grammar, and Georges' (1879) and Heinichen's (1875) dictionaries.



*Gāiūs* hanc lucem gemma mihi Iulius alba.

Martial, xi, 36.

*Gāiūs* ut fiat Iulius et Proculus.

Ibidem.

emptum plus minus asse *Gāiānō*.

Statius, Silv. iv, 9, 22.

*Gāiūs* praenomen inde C notatur, G sonat.

Terentian. Maurus, 897.

'stirps' uelut dixit disertus Gracchus alter *Gāiūs*.

Ibidem 988.

nomine Longinius, praenomine *Gāiūs* olim.

CIL. X, 8131 (Stabiae).

Stallius *Gāiūs* has sedes Hauranus tuetur.

CIL. X, 2971 (Naples).

Γ δ ἰ ἔ, σὸν δὲ πατὴρ χερὶ δέζεται εὐκτὸν ἱουλον.

Apollonides, Anth. Pal. x, 19.

Γ δ ἰ ὅς ἐκπνεύσας τὸ πανόστατον ἐχθὲς ὁ λεπτός.

Lucillius, Anth. Pal. xi, 92.

ἐγγράψαντες ἄνω, Γ δ ἰ ὅς ἐκφέρεται.

Ibidem.

οὕτω κουφότατος πέλε Γ δ ἰ ὅς, ὥστ' ἐκολύμβα.

Same, Anth. Pal. xi, 100.

Γ δ ἰ ἔ, καὶ σὺ φοβοῦ, μὴ καὶ σέ τις ἐγκαταλέξῃ.

Same, Anth. Pal. xi, 265.

Γ δ ἰ ὄν· ὃ μερόπων ἐλπίδες σὺ μόνιμοι.

Inscr. Forum Iulii, Kaibel n. 579,

"ii fere saeculi."

Γ δ ἰ ὅς εἰμαρτῇ ἀλόκῳ τόδε σῆμα θανούσῃ.

Inscr. Macedonia, Kaibel n. 525; late Roman time; incorrect and clumsy.

[Γ] δ ἰ ὄν Ἀνδρομένους ἐν[θά]δ' ἔχω φθίμενον.

Inscr. Galatia, Kaibel n. 405 = CIG. 4132; Kaibel's restoration; probable.

Γ δ ἰ ὅς οὗτος ἐγώ...

Beginning of elegiac inscription;

Naxos, Bull. Corr. Hell. ix, p. 502.

### *Testimony for Gaius:—*

languentem *Gāiūm* morituum dixerat olim.

Ausonius, Ep. 75 (p. 312, Peiper).

'quis tu'? '*Gāiūs*,' ait. 'uiuisne'? hic abnuuit, 'et quid.'

Ibidem.

tum *Gaius*: 'metuas nihil. Eunome; dixi ego et omnes.'  
Ibidem.

οὐρανὸν, ὦ Ρώμας, Γαίῳ, πάτρας ἔρυμα.

Antipater, Anthol. Palat. ix, 59.

ΣΤΗΛΑΙΣ Ἰούλιος ἐν[θα] πατρὸς Γαίου κατέκειμαι.

Inscr. Thessaly, Bull. Corr. Hell. xiii, p. 392.

καὶ παῖδες φθιμένο[ω] περικ[λείτ]ου [Γ]αίου [ι]ο.

Inscr. Galatia, Kaibel n. 405 = CIG. 4132;

Kaibel's restoration; not certain.

Priscian, vii, p. 302 K. (Hertz): "de 'Pompei' et 'Vultei' et 'Gai' et similibus uocatiuis, quae i loco consonantis ante 'us' habent in nominatiuis, dubitatur utrum i extrema pro uocali an pro consonante sit accipienda, quomodo in aliis casibus, quod magis more antiquo rationabilius esse uidetur. Nam solebant illi non solum in principio sed etiam in fine syllabae ponere i loco consonantis, idque in uetustissimis inuenies scripturis, quotiens inter duas uocales ponitur, ut 'eiuis,' 'Pompeiius,' 'Vulteius,' 'Gaiius.'"

Probus, p. 104 K., gives *Gaius* as the pattern of nouns which "ius syllaba definiuntur," as distinguished from those which "us syllaba post i litteram definiuntur" (pattern *Sempronius*).

Marius Victorinus, p. 24, l. 21 K.: "sibi autem ipsa subiungitur in his, ut 'aiio,' 'Troia,' 'Gaiius,' 'Aiax.'"<sup>1</sup>

There is a penumbra of doubtful cases, with which I did not encumber the above list. For completeness' sake I will enumerate them.

(1) Lucian Müller has conjectured another *Gaius* into Lucilius (xxvi, 1 = 859 Lachm., *nam Gaiūm* for *Manium*).

(2) On the other hand the Ausonian examples of *Gajus* may well be increased by three, as the substitution of *Gaius*, *Gaio* for *Caesar*, *Caesare* as the name of Caligula in the 'Caesares'<sup>2</sup> has everything in its favor except the manuscripts.

(3) On which side Γαῖανός (Γ α ι ω Γ), Kaibel n. 445, should count is not clear, as the Greeks made the ending -iānus either -iānós or -iānós; but -iānós is more common.

<sup>1</sup> But a little further on (p. 27, l. 9) he gives 'Troia,' 'aiio,' 'Gaiius,' 'Aiax,' as examples of "i duplicata"; it is therefore very likely that *Gaiius* originally stood in the first passage also.

<sup>2</sup> Monost. ii, 4; iv, 4; Tetrast. iv, 1. In Peiper's edition, pp. 184, 186, 188.

(4) In the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, vol. viii, p. 239, the following pentameter verse may be read, in an inscription of Eumenia in Phrygia, of a late epoch : —

μούσ[aus á]σκηθεὶς [Γ]άιος πραγματικός.

It is hard to decide whether neglect of position in the syllable -os was intended, or a spondee in the latter half of the pentameter.<sup>1</sup>

(5) A late epitaph from Aquileia, CIL. V, 923, contains the limping distich : —

C. Manlius hic Valerianus nomine dictus  
Sentilius fratri quia meritus posuit;

but from such doggerel it is hardly possible to infer whether the writer pronounced his name *Gaius* or *Gaius*.

(6) More promising looks at first sight an interesting inscription of Casinum, CIL. X, 5282, which may with probability be assigned to Cicero's time.<sup>2</sup> It reads in the CIL., with Mommsen's supplements, thus : —

[*Heic est situs Q*]ueinctius Gaius Protymus  
[*amicis su*]mma cum laude probatus,  
[*quoius ing*]enium declarat pietatis alumnus  
[*Gaius Queinc*]tius Valgus patronus.

It is obvious that verses were intended by the writer ; but what sort of verses? The second and third lines suggest hexameters ; the first

<sup>1</sup> Of the latter phenomenon, the following cases (all inscriptional) are known to me : —

. . . πλήσουσιν γενέτ[αι].

. . . ἀρέσκουσα κλυτή.

Bull. Corr. ix, 519.

. . . terram optate leuem.

CIL. VI, 14831.

. . . tum sortita lares.

CIL. III, 3146.

. . . mors ipsa eripuit.

CIL. V, 3403.

For neglect of position in Greek verse, see the examples collected by Wagner, Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis, p. 63 f., and by me, Papers of American School, vol. iv, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> On C. Quintius Valgus, known from other inscriptions, see Dessau in Hermes, xviii, p. 620 f.

and fourth seem more like Saturnians. Bücheler, whose remarks are given in the CIL., has in mind a Saturnian reconstruction, something like this:—

[*Heic est situs Q*]ueinctiūs Gāiūs Protýmus  
 [bonets uirets sū]mma qúm laudé probátus,  
 [quouis ing]eniúm declárat pietatís álumnus  
 [Gdiūs Quetnc]tiūs Válgús patrónus.

The difficulties involved in this, especially in the third line, are obvious, and are pointed out by Bücheler himself. Nevertheless, he appears to think it certain that the first verse at least was meant as a Saturnian. I should be glad of another case of *Gaius*, but I cannot lay any stress on this. In fact, with a very little snipping and a sufficient disregard for final *s*, these verses might all be filled out as hexameters.<sup>1</sup>

(7) Priscian, in the sequel to the passage quoted above (VII, p. 302 K) lays down the rule “omnis enim uocatiuus in *i* desinens una syllaba minor debet esse suo nominatiuo, ut Sallustius o Sallusti,” etc. A little further on (p. 304) he says distinctly that the vocatives *Pompei*, *Vultei*, and *Gai* “*i* finalem et ante eam uocalem pro una syllaba habent”; and illustrates it by citing Horace Epist. I. 7, 91:—

durus, ait, Volteî, nimis attentusque uideris,

to which he might have added Carm. II. 7, 5:—

Pompeî meorum prime sodalium.

If it were strictly true that every vocative in *i* must be one syllable shorter than its nominative, we should have another proof of *Gaius*. For, as it happens, the vocative of *Gaius*, in spite of Priscian, is not *Gai* in one syllable, but *Gāi* in two. Witness these places:—

nunc, *Gāi*, quoniam incilans nos laedi' uicissim.

Lucil. xi, 22, Müll. = 876 Lachm.

quod peto da, *Gāi*, non peto consilium.

Martial, ii, 30.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, thus:—

[*Grandaeuos situs hic sum Q*]ueinctius Gāiūs Protýmus,  
 [sancto cuique uiro su]mma qum laude probatus.  
 [constans ing]enium clarat pietatis alumnus,  
 [maerens qui hunc tumulum dat, Quinc]tius Valgus patronus.

Whereby, indeed, the inequality of the supplements might be hard to account for.

'quod debes, *Gāi*, redde,' inquit Phoebus et illinc.

Martial, ix, 92.

si donare uocas promittere nec dare, *Gāi*.

Martial, x, 16.

But Priscian's rule is more or less upset by a verse of his own composition : —

sed tamen egregio, *Pompēi*, cede nepoti

in the *Laus Anastasii*, 15 (Bährens PLM. V, p. 265), supported by the weightier testimony of Ovid (*ex Ponto*, iv, 1, 1) : —

accipe, *Pompēi*, deductum carmen ab illo.

That *Pompeius* was three syllables is proved by hosts of examples ; and if *Pompejus* could make *Pompēi*, *Gajus* could make *Gāi*. To be sure, one might urge that *Pompēi* is offset by *Pompēi*, whereas *Gāi* occurs four times, and is the only form found. But this, at most, would furnish a sort of presumption.

However, all uncertainties aside, the testimony collected on pp. 71–73 is amply sufficient to show that *Gaius* is early, and *Gajus* late ; and that *Gaius* is not a 'diaeresis' nor an exceptional freedom taken by the poets, like *Vēius* in Propertius and *Tarpēia* in Martial,<sup>1</sup> but the usual and regular form. There was no motive for distorting the word in verse : *Gājūs* would have fitted in every rhythm as easily as *Quintus* or *Marcus* or *durus*. In fact, any defence of disyllabic *Gaius* as an existent form earlier than the fourth century of our era, must rest solely on two Greek instances — the epigram of Antipater and the inscription from Thessaly. The inscription cannot be dated, even approximately, at present. As published, it is singularly devoid of any indication of age, except the broken bar of A. ΣΤΗΛΛΙΣ, at the beginning of the line, is clearly corrupt, and must represent a name. Otherwise the diction of its three distichs is correct and simple, and does not suggest a late date. As to the epigram of the Anthology, the codex Palatinus here gives γαῖαν, but Γαῖε is preserved by Planudes. 'Antipater' is doubtless the Thessalonican. The epigram has given rise to discussion on other grounds.

<sup>1</sup> Prop. v, 10, 31; Mart. xiii, 74, 1.

Whether the Gaius whose mural paintings are described in it is Caligula or C. Caesar the son of Agrippa and Julia we need not stop to decide; thirty years' difference in date does not signify for our purpose. The composition is from the aurea aetas of Latinity, and yet in the measurement of this name it runs counter to the usage of the period. One cannot help wondering why—perhaps even *whether*—the poet did not write ὁ Γάιος Γάϊε σᾶς ἔρημα. Howbeit, we must admit that on the face of the record there is one case, and perhaps two cases, of two-syllable *Gaius*, of the best epoch, in Greek.

Here the question arises, how much weight should be assigned to the Greek examples which I have ranged above side by side with the Latin. All will agree, I think, that they can have only secondary and subsidiary force. It would not be strange if poets accustomed to alternatives like δῆμος and δῆϊος, πατρῷος and πατρώϊος, who might call the father of Oedipus Λαῖος or Λαῖως, as happened to suit them, should have taken some liberties with Latin names of like sort. The following list of instances, which is probably nearly complete, will show the actual usage.<sup>1</sup>

*Latin measurement preserved:—*

- Πομπήϊος ( \_ \_ \_ ) Kaibel 600.  
 Πομπήϊον } ( \_ \_ \_ ) Kaibel 644.  
 Πομπήϊαν }  
 Ταρπηΐη ( \_ \_ \_ ) Anth. Pal. xiv, 121; cod. ταρπαΐη, editors Ταρπεΐη.  
 Τραιανός ( \_ \_ \_ ) Anth. Pal. vi, 332, Hadrian.<sup>2</sup>

*Latin measurement altered:—*

- Ἀπολῆϊος ( \_ \_ \_ \_ ) Anth. Pal. ii, 304 } Christodorus.  
 Πομπήϊος ( \_ \_ \_ \_ ) “ “ ii, 398 }  
 Πομπήϊη ( \_ \_ \_ \_ ) “ “ vii, 185. Antipater Thessal.  
 Σατυρῆϊος ( \_ \_ \_ \_ ) “ “ ix, 776. Diodorus.  
 Ἀπποληΐα ( \_ \_ \_ \_ ) Kaibel 546.

<sup>1</sup> One sees Πομπήϊος, Κανουλήϊος, Περρήϊος, etc., and even Μῆϊος, Μαῖωρ constantly printed in our editions of Greek prose-writers. How uncertain the diaeresis is, we see from these poetical examples, which are the only possible criterion.

<sup>2</sup> Τραιανοῖο, A. P. ix, 210, and Τραιανοῦ, Kaibel 632, are indecisive.

These alterations are all in the direction of distraction; I cannot show an example of contraction. Nevertheless so much is clear, that a Greek poet, in a case like this, is not final and absolute authority as to the pronunciation of a Latin name. And as regards the two cases of *Taios*, in view of the evidence on the other side, we may say with much confidence that they are probably an hellenizing license; and if not this, that they represent a pronunciation which was beginning to be occasionally heard at Rome, but did not make its way to the front till long afterward.

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But why did this name *Gaius* maintain its distract form so long, against the analogy of *Maius*, *Graius*, and the like? Because it had been *Gaius* at no remote time? One is tempted to make this answer; and indeed I do not know any other to make, if this be not true. The other Italic dialects afford ample evidence that *Gaius* was really the original form of the name. The most distinct indications are found in the Faliscan inscriptions, as the following little collection will show. The citations are from Deecke's 'Falisker' (Dk.), and E. Schneider's 'Dialectorum Italicarum exempla selecta' (Sch.): —

- Cauio Vetulio (= *Gaius Vetulius*), Dk. 53, Sch. 11.  
 Cauio Au. filio (= *Gaius Auli filius*), Dk. 30.  
 Caul[o] Cau. [f]ilio (= *Gaius Gai filius*), Dk. 31.  
 Cai T[repi] cela (= *Gai Trebi cella*), Dk. 3, Sch. 1.  
 Cauia Vetulia (= *Gaia Vetulia*), Dk. 54, Sch. 10.  
 Cauia [V]eculia Voltilia (= *Gaia Veculia Volti filia*), Dk. 7, Sch. 7.  
 C[a]ui[a]? (= *Gaia*), Dk. 13.  
 Cai[a] Vecin[e]a Votilia (= *Gaia Vecinia Volti? filia*) } Dk. 40, Sch. 23.  
 Cauia Vecinea (= *Gaia Vecinia*) }  
 Cai Tertinei Posticnu (= *Gaia Tertineia Postii filia?* So Deecke), Dk. 63, Sch. 28.  
 Caio Folcuz[i]o (= *Gaius Folciusius*) } Dk. 49, Sch. 13.  
 Caio (= *Gaius*) }

No other Italic dialect makes a showing like this, but no other writes out its praenomina so frequently. Other Faliscan inscriptions have *C.* or *Ca.*, which of course prove nothing. In Umbrian we find

nothing but the abbreviations *K.*, *C.*, *Ca.* The same is true of the Middle Italian inscriptions (Paeligni, Volsci, etc.) now conveniently collected in Zvetaieff's manual, *Inscriptiones Italiae inferioris*, pp. 1-20. About one of these, n. 35 (= CIL. I, 194) — that beginning CIA PACIA — Deecke<sup>1</sup> suggests that CIA is miswritten for CAIA; others have supposed [*Lu*]cia, or the like. In Oscan, what evidence there is makes for *Gaius*. Generally we find only *G.* or *Ga.*, — perhaps 15 cases. *Perkens Gaaviis* (= *Percennus Gaius*), Zvetaieff, Syll. n. 57, which used to be cited, and *Statis Gaviis*, n. 49, do not count, as *Gaaviis* is gentile, and the gentile even in Latin is almost always *Gaius*.<sup>2</sup> But perhaps there is one real case: Zvetaieff Syll. n. 4, we read *Kaal. Húsidits Gaavi.*. The stone is broken off, part of the *i* (I) being gone. Because of this *i*, Zvetaieff takes the last name as a cognomen in the nominative. This is laying more stress on Oscan orthography than it will bear. The normal nominative would be either *Gaaviis* or *Gavils*, and the normal genitive either *Gaavieis* or *Gaviets*. But both occur in several variations, and if nominatives like *Statis*, n. 16, and *Sabints*, n. 117 (= *Staius*, *Sabinus*), are found, one sees no reason why a genitive *Gaavleis* might not exist. The genitive of the father's name is very customary in Oscan, and cognomina are rather rare. So there is everything in favor of interpreting our inscription as *Calvius(?) Hosidius Gai f*.<sup>3</sup>

It is therefore pretty safe to conclude that the Oscan-speaking peoples said *Gaaviis* for *Gaius*. The Etruscan inscriptions, on the other hand, show no form with *v*.<sup>4</sup> The dialectic testimony, accordingly stands thus:—

Faliscan: *Cauio*, *Cauia*, *Caio*.

Oscan: *Gaaviis*.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Zvetaieff's book, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> The relation between praenomina in *-ius* and the gentiles which have exactly the same letters (*Vibius* Virrius and L. *Vibius*; so also *Staius*, *Saluius*, *Novius*, and several others) is not yet cleared up, even after what Deecke, *Etrusk. Forsch.* VI, p. 61 f., has written. These pairs are most frequent in Oscan and in the Oscan region; in fact, the whole lot seems to belong properly in the south. But does gentile come from praenomen, or praenomen from gentile?

<sup>3</sup> Deecke, *Etrusk. Forsch.* VI, p. 63, Falisker, p. 132, takes this *Gaavi.* as a genitive.

<sup>4</sup> The word *kavi*, standing alone on a tile, is cited by Deecke (*Etrusk. Forsch.* VI, p. 63), who rightly says that it is too uncertain to count.



Etruscan: *Caie, Cai, Cae*.

Umbrian, Sabine, Marsian, Volscian, etc., no evidence.

It seems clear from this that the name must once have had a *V*, even in Latin. But how far back was this time? Did, for instance, C. Marius call himself *Gaius*? Or if not, did C. Gracchus? Or if not he, did C. Flaminius? These questions are not perfectly easy to answer. We have plentiful evidence as to the form of the name in imperial times, but for the republican period the indications are very few. The change from *Gaius* to *Gaius* went unrecorded, because it was almost universally the custom to write nothing but *C*. The Roman who read the sign as *Gaius* could not know that it had ever been read otherwise. No weight can be assigned to the gentile *Gaius*. This kept its *V* always,<sup>1</sup> but while the praenomen *Ga(u)ius* was of the highest antiquity in Latium, and from the time of 'Gaius Cluilius' the Alban 'rex' appears constantly in the Roman annals, the *Gauia* gens is unknown at Rome before the empire,<sup>2</sup> and in all probability drifted in from the south. The two names exist quite independently so far as Latin is concerned.

Only two Latin inscriptions anterior to the Christian era are known to me, in which this praenomen is written in full. Neither of these is Roman, and neither precisely datable, though both, from general indications, must belong somewhere about the Ciceronic epoch. One is the epitaph of Gaius Quinctius Prothymus, already quoted on p. 74. The other is an inscription of Amiternum, in which occurs the name GAVIA CAESIDIA. The text of the entire epitaph (CIL. I, n. 1298 = IX, n. 3621) is as follows:—

P. Brutius P. F. Qui.  
Tertia Sapiena c. l.  
uxor posit.  
Gauia Caesidia  
probisuma femina  
mater Bruti.

<sup>1</sup> CIL. IV, 825, 1167 (Pompeii), VI, 605, 1009 (Rome), out of scores of inscriptional cases. *Gaius* also occurs as gentile, but rarely. CIL. I, 1257 (Tegianum), *L. Cai*; 1189, 1190 (Fundi), *M. Gaius* (along with *Q. Gaius*).

<sup>2</sup> Six cases are recorded in the first volume of the CIL.: the places are Fundi, Caiatia, Arpinum, Arretium; one is on an Etruscan tile.

This might seem to be proof positive of the existence of the form *Gaius* as praenomen in the first century B.C. But before this conclusion can be accepted, two rather damaging possibilities must be disposed of.

The first is that *Gauia* may be a gentile, not a praenomen at all. Women with two gentile names occur several times in the older inscriptions of Latium and the adjoining regions.<sup>1</sup> I have noted :

From Praeneste	: Ceisia Loucilia	(CIL. XIV, 4104).
	Dindia Macolnia	(CIL. XIV, 4112 = I, 54).
	Maria Fabricia	(CIL. XIV, 3134).
	Maria Selicia	(CIL. XIV, 3259 = I, 149).
	Rudia Vergelia	(CIL. XIV, 3295 = I, 1501 <i>d</i> ).
From Rome	: Cacilia Ania	(CIL. I, 833 = VI, 8222).
From Nemus Dianae	: Poublilia Turpilia	(CIL. XIV, 4270).
From Casinum	: Agria Sueia, N. f.	(CIL. I, 1183).

These inscriptions (the last excepted) are among the oldest we have. The significance of the double names is by no means perspicuous. We may think of an actual duplication of the family name, arising from a union of estates or other cause. It is also conceivable that the first name of the pair is a personal name—a gentile given as praenomen. There is something to say for this. It would be analogous to an Anglo-American custom now in vogue, by which family names are made to do duty as praenomina, so that a boy is called—let us say Montgomery Wilson, instead of William or Henry Wilson. Now it might be that the same thing occurred in ancient Italy.<sup>2</sup> But on either of these suppositions, we should expect that men would receive such names as well as women. Now what men's names do

<sup>1</sup> I segregate this group from the externally similar cases—*Aemilia Plotia* and the like—which occur much later, in the imperial period, and are part and parcel of the later system of names. Also, though with more hesitation, from cases like *Vibia Tetidia* (CIL. IX, 3272) and *Salvia Seruia* (I, 1063), because *Salvius* and *Vibius*, whatever their origin, were recognized men's praenomina.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the *Vibius*, *Salvius*, *Nouius* group of names—those which occur both as praenomina and gentiles—may eventually be regarded in this light. See note 2 on p. 79. The difficulty is that only certain particular names are so employed; there is nothing like an indiscriminate use of gentiles as fore-names, either in Latin or Oscan. Deecke takes the opposite view, deriving *Vibius* gentile from *Vibius* praenomen, but to this again there are objections.

we find, of like epoch and locality, to set off against the above list? *Nouios Plautios*, who made Dindia Macolnia's casket, is obviously not a clear case. Besides him, I know only of *Iunio(s) Setio(s)* in CIL. XIV, 4104, from Praeneste. His name certainly resembles those of his five townswomen, but it is strange that we find no more like it. All the men who are registered in the very numerous archaic epitaphs of Praeneste have the regular praenomina, Marcus, Sextus, etc.

It looks as if the custom were confined, or nearly confined, to women's names; and this suggests another theory, namely that one of the gentiles is the husband's name; that *Dindia Macolnia*, for instance, means 'wife of Magulnius, *née* Dindia' (or the reverse). This view, it seems to me, gets a pretty strong confirmation from the inscription from the Nemus Dianae. The whole of it is as follows: *Poublilia Turpilia Cn. uxor hoc seignum pro Cn. filiod Dianai donum dedit.* This lady mentions not only her husband, but her son, in whose behalf the offering is made, by his praenomen only, and has seemingly forgotten to mention the family surname at all. The omission is well-nigh incredible, but all is in order if we suppose that this surname is Turpilius. The dedication then has a form analogous to that which a man would have employed.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any other evidence, we may provisionally infer that in these compound feminine names of the olden times, one name designates the *gens* of the father, the other that of the husband.

We return, after this digression, to *Gauia Caesidia* of Amiternum. If we are right in our inference about the group of names we have just been discussing, her name cannot be joined to this group, because her husband was not a Caesidius nor a Gaius, but a Bruttius. It would follow, then, that *Gauia* is praenomen, not gentile, and the first of the two difficulties we spoke of would be removed. On the whole, I think, the chances are in favor of this; but there can be no certainty. The other difficulty remains. Can we be certain that this provincial inscription does not represent the Sabine pronunciation of the name rather than the Latin? Obviously the *V* might have lingered in other parts of Italy long after it had

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<sup>1</sup> Her husband, for instance, would have written: *Cn. Turpilius Cn. f. hoc signum pro Cn. filio dedit.*

ceased to be pronounced at Rome. Although the document is a Latin document, it cannot in this point carry the same weight as if it had been written in Latium.

Latin inscriptions, then, lend us very little aid in tracing the early form of the praenomen designated by *C*. It amounts in brief to one certain *Gaius* and one doubtful *Gaius*, of the first century before our era. Indications from other Latin sources there are none to speak of. The auctor de praenominibus derives *Gaius* a *gaudio parentum*: whatever we may think of this etymology, it seems probable that the writer had an inkling of the form *Gau-ius*. His source was probably Varro; Varro then, we may say, knew the name *Gaius*; but Varro certainly knew Sabine and probably other Italic dialects. I have somewhere seen the rich nabob who furnished Julius Caesar with lampreys for his triumphal banquet adduced as a case of the praenomen *Gaius*. But this man's name—he figures in history as *C. Hirrius*—is not so certain as we could wish. Macrobius (Sat. iii, 15, 10) calls him *Gaius Hirrius*, and refers to Pliny. Our manuscripts of Pliny (N. H. ix, 172) give, however, *C. Hirrus*,<sup>1</sup> and in Varro (R. R. iii, 17) the codex Marcianus had simply *Hirrus*.<sup>2</sup> Putting all together, it seems rather likely that the real name was *Gaius Hirrus*, with some praenomen unknown to us.

There is, however, one remaining source of information, which ought not to be neglected. The Greeks wrote the Roman praenomina, as a rule, in full, and we ought to, and do, get some definite indications from them. We find no Γάιος, but we are enabled to trace Γάιος pretty well back.

First, the text of Polybius contains Γάιος *passim*. Unsupported this would not have great weight, but it is backed by numerous inscriptions.

To begin with 48 B.C.; after Pharsalus the Greek world was well dotted over with statues of Γάιος Ἰούλιος Γάτων υἱὸς Καῖσαρ, and many of the inscribed pedestals have survived; as CIG. 2215, 2214 g (Chios), 2368 and 2369 (Carthaea), 2957 (Ephesus), 3668 (Cyzi-

<sup>1</sup> Changed in the printed editions to *C. Hirrius*.

<sup>2</sup> His name very likely lurks somehow in *Chius Postumius*, Cic. de Fin. ii, 22, but we get no enlightenment from that.

cus), Bull. Corr., viii, p. 153 (Delos), iii, p. 508 (Megara). A contemporary of Caesar was Γάιος Ίούλιος Ἀρτεμίδωρου υἱὸς Θεύπομπος, whose statue was set up at Cnidos (Collitz, iii, n. 3527).

A fine series of datable Γάιος's takes us back to the beginning of the first century. Γάιος Οὐέργυλιος Γαίου υἱὸς Βάλβος, proquaestor, CIG. 5597 (Halaesa) was praetor in 62 B.C. Γάιος occurs nine times in the Senatus Consultum of Oropus, Hermes xx, p. 268; the date is 73. To the year 74 belongs Τίτος Κλαύδιος Γαίου Τρύφων, Delos, Bull. Corr. viii, p. 146. In the S. C. de Asclepiade, CIL. I, 203 = CIG. 5879, we meet with Γάιο[ς . . . Δευκ]ίου υἱός: date 78 B.C. Another S. C., from Lagina in Caria, gives us [Γ]άιος Φάννιος Γαίου [υἱός] and [Γ]άιος Φονδάνιος Γαί[ου υἱός], Bull. Corr. ix, p. 445; date 81. Γάιος Κοίλιος Κάλδος Γαίου υἱός and Γάιος Σέντιος Γαίου υἱός are named in the treaty of Thyrrheum in Acarnania, of 94 B.C., Bull. Corr. x, p. 165. Then Γά[ος] at Athens, CIA. ii, 985, list of ἀπαρχαί, year 95-4. In Delos again, two freedmen, Ἀρχέλ[α]ος Πομπώνιος Γαί[ο]υ καὶ Γαίου, and Κλεομένης Ἐγγάτιος Ποπλίου Γαίου Γναίου, Bull. Corr. vii, p. 13 = Löwy Inschr. Gr. Bildhauer, n. 306: dated 97-6 B.C. The masters of the latter recur Bull. Corr. viii, p. 488 (Delos), [Π]ό[π]λιος καὶ Γάιος καὶ Γναῖος Ἐγ[νάτι]οι, Κοῖντοι, Ῥωμαῖοι.

Other cases from Delos, not exactly datable, but from about the same epoch. Γάιος Ἐρμαῖον Ἀμυσηνός, Bull. Corr. vii, p. 362 (Plutarch Pomp. 42, σύντροφος of Mithradates). Γάιος Λούκιος Ποπλ[ίου], Γάιος [Σ]ήιος, Γάιος Οὐ[αλ]έριος, Bull. Cor. viii, p. 186. Γάιος Σήιος Γναίου Ἀριστόμαχος, Bull. Corr. xi, p. 272, and Ἀθήναιον, 1875, p. 462. Γάιος Σήιος Γαίου and Γάιος Κλαύδιος Γαίου, Bull. Corr. i, p. 284. Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Γαίου υἱὸς Τριάριος, Bull. Corr. xi, p. 265. Γάιος Σανφ[ή]ιος Αὔλου Ζηνόδορος, Bull. Corr. i, p. 88.

A Γάιος Γαίου Ἀλαιεύς was clerk of the Athenian senate in the archonship of "Lysander, son of Apolexis," CIA. ii, 489 δ (Addend. p. 419). The date is not yet known; Köhler inclines to the middle of the first century B.C.

The Attic ephebic lists afford several examples, the oldest being, perhaps, CIA. ii, 483, in which Γάιος Ῥωμαῖος is enumerated with others of his nation, among the ξένοι, the names of the fathers being omitted. In CIA. ii, 469 (archon Lenaeus), we have Πόπλιος Γαίου Πειραιεύς; in 471 (archon Nicodemus), Γάιος Γαίου Πειραιεύς and

Γάιος Μαάρκου Μελ[ιτρέυς]. These archons are not yet fixed ; Dumont put them in 138 and 136, Köhler thought rather of 90-60 : the latest opinion (Homolle, Bull. Corr. x, p. 6 f.) assigns them to the neighborhood of 125 B.C.

The Romans in Delos set up a statue of their benefactor Γάιος Βελ[λ]η[ν]ός Γαίου υἱός (CIG. 2285 b = Bull. Corr. xi, p. 270) ; this man we know as candidate for the consulship about 104. Two of these Delian residents, Δ[ε]ύκιος καὶ Γάιος Πίδιοι Γαίου υἱοί, Ῥωμαῖοι conferred a like honor (CIG. 2285) on a relative of Ptolemy Euergetes II, who reigned from 146 to 117.

A Roman Athenian of note was Γάιος Γαίου Ἀχαρνεύς, who went over to Delos and held various priesthoods there (CIG. 2295, 2296, Bull. Corr. vi, pp. 324, 350). He appears to recur in CIA. ii, 957, [... s] Γαίου Ἀχαρνεύς. The (Athenian) archons named in the Delian records are Nausias, Lyciscus, Dionysius : these belong in a block of seven or eight archons, which may be aptly compared to Delos itself in its earliest recorded condition. The πλωτὴ νῆσος has been steered by Homolle into a nook between 119 and 105 B.C., but whether it will take root there, future discoveries must show. Γάιος Κοίντου Ῥωμαῖος is on record in Delos (Bull. Corr. vii, p. 370) in the archonship of Diotimus, who belongs in the same block, two years after Dionysius. Κοίντος Γαίου of Delos (Bull. Corr. vi, pp. 324 and 325) and Γάιος Γαίου of Ios (Bull. Corr. i, p. 136) cannot be very far off in time.

Two pedestals, found in the same building at Delos, bear the names of Γάιος Κλουῖος Λευκίου υἱὸς στρατηγὸς ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων (Bull. Corr. viii, p. 119) and Γάιος Ὀφέλλιος Μαάρκου υἱὸς Φέρος (Bull. Corr. v, p. 391 = Löwy Inschr. Gr. Bildhauer, n. 242). A C. Cluvius was legate of Aemilius Paullus in 168, and the artists of the other work are known. Homolle and Löwy agree in assigning the works to some time after 150.

The S. C. of Adramyttium (Bull. Corr. ii, p. 129 = Ephem. Epigr. iv, p. 213) contains a string of Γάιος's too long to transcribe : the document is referred by Mommsen to the time of the Gracchi. A Cosconius named in it we know to have been praetor in 135. If Μάρκος Κοσκώνιος Γαίου υἱὸς Ῥωμαῖος, Erythraea (Bull. Corr. iv, p. 156) is the father of this Cosconius, as has been guessed, this inscription would take us yet a stage further back.

We are led distinctly into the first half of the second century by some Delphian records of *proxeni*, Wescher-Foucart, n. 18 (lines 69 and 88), and n. 457; Bull. Corr. vii, p. 191. The men named are Γάιος Στατώριος Γαίου υἱὸς Βρεντεσίνο; Γάιος, son of Μᾶρκος Ὀαλέριος Ὁμοπτόνης, both Ῥωμαῖοι; Γάιος Μαννῆιος and Δεύκιος καὶ [Κ]νήιος οἱ Γαίου Μαννηίου; Μαάρκος Κορνήλιος Γαίου, proxenos in Same.

In a fragmentary Attic document, CIA. ii, 424, Köhler recognizes traces of the name [Γ]αίου [Λα]λίου, and refers it to the time after 168 (Pydna). This may be uncertain, but [Μα]άρκος Γαίου Ποπίλιος in a decree of proxeny from Cierion in Thessaly (Bull. Corr. xiii, p. 400) is clear, and belongs between 178 and 146. The S. C. from Narthacion in Thessaly names Γάιος Ὀστίλιος στρατηγός = C. Hostilius Mancinus praetor (Bull. Corr. vi, 368); date (Laticheff) "150-146." Another S. C. of Thisbe, exactly dated at 170 B.C. (Ephem. Epigr. i, p. 279 = Mitth. Athen. iv, p. 235), mentions Γάιος Δοκρέτιος twice.

We have traced Γάιος pretty far back, but there remain a couple of still older cases. The first is of unusual interest. A decree of the Epirotes conferring proxeny on Γάιος Δόζουπος Ῥένιος, Βρεντεσίνο; who is twice named, was found at Dodona (Carapanos i, p. 114 = Collitz ii, n. 1339). As στρατηγός of the Epirotes is mentioned Antinoos, who is evidently the Antinoos of Polybius, xxvii, 13, and xxx, 7. 2. It seems to have escaped observation so far, that this Rennius is identical with the *L. Rammius, Brundisinus* of Livy 42, 17, who appears as Ῥένιος (without praenomen) in Appian, Mac. xi, 7 (vol. i, p. 265, Bkk.). He is the man who was bribed—or believed to have been bribed—by Perseus to poison the leading Roman statesmen, and disclosed the plot to the senate at Rome. The disclosure precipitated the war with Perseus in 172. The decree, which recites the εὐνοία αὐτῶν ἔχων διατελεῖ ποτὶ τοὺς Ἀπειρώτας, was made, without doubt, during Rennius's visit to Perseus, of whom the Epirotes and Antinoos were adherents. This visit preceded the disclosure: so we are led to 173 as the probable date of the decree. The name in Livy is corrupt, but whether the man was really Rennius or Herennius is questionable.

The long temple-inventory of Delos (Bull. Corr. vi, p. 38) mentions a golden crown as Γαίου Λιβίου Ῥωμαίου ἀνάθημα; the date of

the inventory is 180-185; the date of C. Livius Salinator's praetorship in these parts was 191.

Finally we have a S. C. of Delphi (Lebas ii, n. 852) which mentions Γάιος Ἀρίνιος Γαίου; the date of this monument (see Bull. Corr. xi, p. 225) is 189 B.C. It is now generally agreed that the Greek text of such senatorial acts was composed *in Rome itself*; so this earliest example has a special authenticity.

This is the oldest case that I have so far found. I do not claim absolute completeness for my collection, yet think that not much has escaped me.

As results of the foregoing investigation, we may lay down: (1) that the name designated by the Romans by the letter *C* was originally *Gāuius*; (2) that this form at Rome had passed into *Gāius* by 190 B.C., though it survived longer in some of the provinces of Italy; (3) that for some reason, not assignable at present, the customary pronunciation (of the educated classes at least) remained *Gāius* (trisyllabic) at any rate until the end of the first century of our era, and probably still longer.







## AN INSCRIBED KOTYLOS FROM BOEOTIA.

BY JOHN C. ROLFE.

THE cup which is figured above was purchased by the writer in March, 1889, in Kakosia, a village in southwestern Boeotia, on the site of the ancient Thisbe. It was in the possession of a peasant, who said that it had been found in a tomb in the vicinity. No description of the tomb, and no more accurate information about its location, could be obtained, but the technique of the cup, and the alphabet of the inscription, testify to its Boeotian origin.

The cup has the following dimensions: height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.185; diameter, 0.12; circumference, 0.385; height of upper rim, 0.03; height of foot, 0.15. The upper part, including the greater part of the rim and a very little of the body, was broken into nine pieces; but when these were put together it was found to be complete, with the exception of the greater part of one handle, and two small triangular pieces, whose loss does not at all disguise the shape of the cup. The surface without and within was covered with a calcareous deposit, which yielded only to acid. A large part of this has been removed, enough to show that there are no traces of any decoration. The cup at present bears two distinct colors. The inside, the foot, and the greater part of the body are black, while the handles and most of the upper rim are bright red. It was un-

doubtedly intended that the whole cup should be black, the red being due to unequal heat during the process of firing. In describing another cup, Mr. Cecil Smith, of the British Museum, writes me: "It is covered with a brownish black varnish of rather dull surface, which tends to bright red when overbaked."

The inscription is incised on the upper rim, and is complete with the exception of two, or possibly three, letters. The letters are nearly all clear and distinct, and the reading given below is certain.



Γοργίνιος ἐμὶ ὁ κότυλος · καλὸς κ[αλ]ῶ.

I am the kotylos of Gorginos; the beautiful cup of a beautiful owner.

The letters are those of the Boeotian alphabet, and the inscription therefore belongs to a time previous to the introduction of the Ionic alphabet into Boeotia. More than this cannot be said, for the only really characteristic letters for dating Boeotian inscriptions, theta and the sign for the *spiritus asper*, do not occur in our inscription. The form of the sigma, as has often been pointed out, is not significant in Boeotian inscriptions.

Just when the introduction of the Ionic alphabet into Boeotia took place is uncertain. According to Kirchhoff,<sup>1</sup> the epichoric alphabet was still in use down to the time of Epaminondas, and the occurrence of the Ionic alphabet and the Boeotian on exactly similar coins of that time seems to indicate that it was a period of transition. It is then possible that our cup is not earlier than 360 B.C., but the general appearance of both cup and inscription suggests a much earlier date.

The inscription forms a somewhat uncouth iambic trimeter. The hiatus in the third foot may perhaps be justified by the caesura. According to Prof. F. D. Allen<sup>2</sup> but one other hiatus is found in

<sup>1</sup> *Studien*, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Greek Versification in Inscriptions*, *Papers Am. Sch. Class. Stud. at Athens*, Vol. IV, p. 107.

an inscribed iambic trimeter. A greater blemish is that in the anapaest in the second foot a polysyllabic word ends in the second part of the thesis.<sup>1</sup>

The name of the possessor on Greek vases is not very common. When found, it is sometimes in the nominative,<sup>2</sup> but usually in the genitive, the genitive being sometimes followed by *εἰμί*. Reinach<sup>3</sup> gives eleven cases of the genitive, of which five are followed by *εἰμί*; and several instances of each use might be added to the list. In our inscription, however, we appear to have a unique way of expressing ownership, for *Γοργίνιος* does not seem to be a genitive, but a proper adjective in the nominative. As a genitive it could only come from a nominative in *ις*, *υς*, or *εως*, any one of which would give a proper name wholly anomalous in its formation. As an adjective it would be formed from *Γοργίνος*, which does not occur, it is true, but which would be quite regular in its formation, corresponding to *Ἀγαθίνος*, *Κρατίνος*, and other *Kosenamen*. The use of the adjective in an inscription of this kind is difficult to explain. It avoids the hiatus which the genitive *Γοργίνο* would make, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the writer of the inscription preferred this way of avoiding hiatus, to one which would have departed from the invariable order of the owner's name at the beginning, followed directly by *εἰμί*. If we may assume this, the use of the adjective for a genitive in poetry was common enough to suggest that way of avoiding the difficulty. Such expressions as *Νεστορέη παρὰ νηὶ Πυλολιγενέος βασιλῆος*<sup>4</sup> and *Ἀγαμεμνονέην ἄλοχον*<sup>5</sup> may be mentioned as parallel, and a long list of such uses of proper adjectives could be made without difficulty. That the writer of the inscription thought of it as equivalent to the usual genitive is shown by the *καλὸς καλῶ* which follows. It has seemed to me barely possible that the use of patronymic adjectives in Boeotian may have helped to suggest such a use of a proper adjective. The transition from a proper adjective meaning "son of" to one denot-

<sup>1</sup> See Christ, *Metrik*, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Four instances given by Dumont, *Rev. Arch.* 1873, I, p. 325, and others by Jahn, *Vasensammlung zu München*, p. cxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *Traité d'Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, 2. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 3. 264.

ing possession simply, is not a violent one. Professor Merriam, of Columbia College, has suggested to me to compare the use of proper adjectives in the Delian inventories,<sup>1</sup> and while in some cases the adjective seems to denote the *type* of cup, in others it clearly denotes the donor. In the inventory of Demaratus, v. 99,<sup>2</sup> we have σκάφιον φιλωνίδειον, ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ξενομήδου Φιλωνὶς Ἡγησαγόρου. Here a particular type of cup made by Φιλωνίς may be meant, but it seems very unlikely, and M. Homolle understands her to be the donor. Another example in the same inventory<sup>3</sup> is more explicit. It reads κύλικα μυκύθειον, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγραφή· ἀρχοντος Ἐμπεδου, Μίκυθος. As a cup dedicated by Mikythos is called Mikythian, a cup owned by Gorginos might be called Gorginian.

καλός on Greek vases is extremely common; more common than any other inscription, according to Jahn.<sup>4</sup> καλὸς καλοῦ is, I believe, unique, but we have a similar form of expression in the inscription on a kylix published in the *Jour. of Hellenic Studies* for 1885<sup>5</sup>:

Φιλωτός<sup>6</sup> ἡμὶ τὰς καλὰς ἀ κύλικας ἀ ποικίλα.<sup>7</sup>

Another interesting feature of our vase is that it is designated as a kotylos.

The question of the names of the different forms of Greek vases has been much discussed. The first to make it the object of special investigation was Panofka, whose *Recherches sur les véritables noms des Vases Grecs* was published in 1829. Ussing<sup>8</sup> comments on his work as follows: "ille, centum et sex Graecis nominibus productis, quae ex Athenaeo fere omnia sumpsit, suam cuique nomini formam

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Cor. Hell.* 6 (1882), p. 6 sqq.; especially p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> l.c. p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> v. 172.

<sup>4</sup> l.c. p. cxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> p. 373.

<sup>6</sup> In the J.H.S. the form Φιλωτός is given, but according to Prof. F. D. Allen, *Greek Versification in Inscriptions*, p. 70, it should be Φιλωτός, a Doric genitive. The inscription itself gives O.

<sup>7</sup> It is barely possible that we should read καλὸς καλός, which occurs occasionally in vase inscriptions (see C.I.G. 7458, 7468, 7479, 7848, 7852, 7881, 7908, 8018), but there is no trace of a final sigma. [Compare Μίλωνος τόδ' ἄγαλμα καλοῦ καλόν, Simonides frag. 156, Bk.<sup>4</sup>; and παῖς Ἀσκληπιδεὺς καλῶι καλὸν εἶσατο Φοίβωι, Rhianus Anth. Pal. VI, 278. — *F. D. A.*]

<sup>8</sup> *De Nominibus Vasorum Graecorum*, p. 21.

tribuit tanta temeritate, ut fere miremur, si uno et altero loco forte fortuna verum invenerit." He was made the object of a special criticism by Letronne.<sup>1</sup> Gerhard, in *Berlin's Antike Bildwerke*, is more cautious than Panofka, but though he considerably diminished the number of forms to which he ventured to assign names, he also was criticised by Letronne.<sup>2</sup> The latter considers the whole subject an unprofitable one, and does not believe that the ancients themselves attached any fixed and definite meaning to most of the terms. Ussing, however, who took the subject for his inaugural dissertation, says,<sup>3</sup> "Sed mihi quidem eripi non potest suam cuique vocabulo vim inesse, nisi linguae natura mutetur." Others who have discussed the subject are Krause,<sup>4</sup> Jahn,<sup>5</sup> and the various dictionaries and handbooks of antiquities.

The more recent writers on Greek vases seem to be of the opinion of Letronne. They use only a few of the Greek names, those in common use, whose application they believe to be unquestionably established. Furtwängler<sup>6</sup> distinctly states that this is his usage, and of the many Greek names for drinking-cups he uses only kantharos, which he seems to apply consistently to the type generally agreed on as that of the kantharos<sup>7</sup>; in other cases he uses the German names. Kantharos seems to be used by many writers as a general term for a drinking-cup. Reinach<sup>8</sup> even speaks of an inscribed kotylos as a kantharos,<sup>9</sup> and at the end of the account of the excavations in the theatre at Thoricos<sup>10</sup> the name is applied to a vessel which has none of the characteristics of the usual type.

Lau<sup>11</sup> follows the same course as Furtwängler. In his plates<sup>12</sup> he gives various forms of drinking-cups, but of the Greek names he uses only kantharos, which he applies to vessels of the type of Fig. 7.

<sup>1</sup> *Observations philologiques et archéologiques sur les noms des Vases Grecs.*

<sup>2</sup> *Supplement aux Observations sur les noms des Vases Grecs.*

<sup>3</sup> l.c. p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Vasensammlung zu Berlin*, p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> *Angeologie.*

<sup>7</sup> See Fig. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Vasensammlung zu München.*

<sup>8</sup> l.c. p. 447.

<sup>9</sup> It ought to be said that this cup, which is represented in Fig. 7, though designated in its inscription as a kotylos, has the form generally agreed on as that of the kantharos.

<sup>10</sup> *Papers of the Am. Sch. of Class. Stud. at Athens*, Vol. IV, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Griechischen Vasen.*

<sup>12</sup> XVI, XVIII, XXIII, and XXIV.

Collignon<sup>1</sup> uses the term *kotylos*, but unfortunately without describing the vessels to which he applies it.

All the work of those who have treated this subject is based upon literary evidence. Vases inscribed with their names are rare; Ussing knew of but two "*exempla tam raræ felicitatis*," and their importance in relation to this question does not seem to have been recognized. Our literary evidence on this subject is most unsatisfactory, for we must certainly hesitate to conclude that the descriptions given by Diodorus and Athenaeus can be relied upon to fix the names of vases found in all parts of Greek lands, and of all dates. Moreover, this literary evidence is conflicting, and very different conclusions have been drawn from it. To illustrate this, let us consider the ideas which have been formed from it about the *kotylos*.

In the first place it is not agreed whether we are to distinguish between *κότυλος* and *κοτύλη*, or not. Eratosthenes appears to do so, for he says:<sup>2</sup> *κνάθῳ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἐχρῶντο, οὐδὲ κοτύλη*, while just below he adds: *εἰ δέ ποτε πλείον πιεῖν βουληθείεν, προσπαρετίθεσαν τοὺς καλουμένους κοτύλους, κάλλιστα καὶ εὐπορώτατα ἐκπωμάτων*. Panozka and Gerhard accordingly assigned a different form to each of these two names. Ussing gives one form to both, but says that *κοτύλη* is used both of the measure and the cup, *κότυλος* only of the cup. This view seems to be correct, and has been generally adopted, while *κότυλος* and *κοτύλη* applied to the cup are considered to be synonymous. *κοτύλη* seems to be the more general word. Apollodorus<sup>3</sup> says *πάν τὸ κοῖλον κοτύλην ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί*, and *κοτύλη* is used in the general senses of the word, hip-joint, hollow of the foot, suckers of the octopus, cymbals, etc. On both the inscribed *kotyloi* *κότυλος* is the word used, but *κοτύλη* is used of the cup frequently in Homer, and in the familiar proverb<sup>4</sup>:

*πολλὰ μεταξύ πέλει κοτύλης καὶ χείλεος ἄκρον.*

As to the form of the *κότυλος* or *κοτύλη*, it was used for dipping liquids from a larger vessel.<sup>5</sup> That it was also used as a drinking-cup is seen by the second passage from Eratosthenes quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. des Vases du Musée d'Athènes.*

<sup>2</sup> ap. Ath. 482 a.

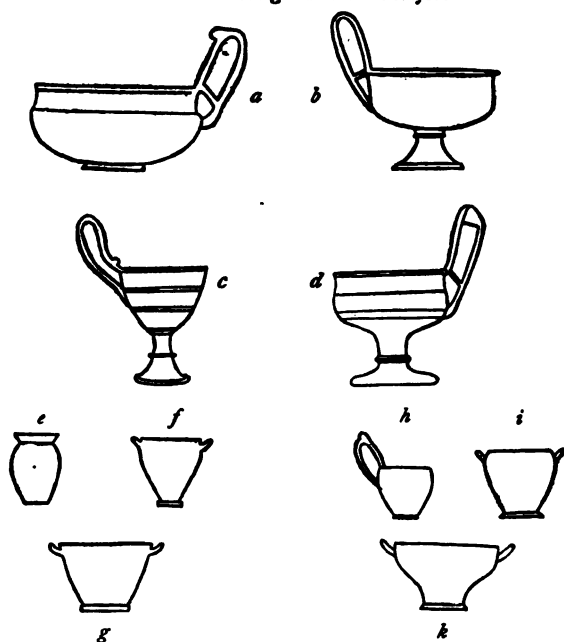
<sup>3</sup> ap. Ath. 479 a.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. ap. Ath. 478 e.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Arist. Vesp. 855, and Acharn. 1067.

Alcaeus,<sup>1</sup> Diodorus,<sup>2</sup> and Pollux<sup>3</sup> agree in saying that it had but one handle. This testimony leads Ussing to say,<sup>4</sup> "Quomodo Panofka vasa duabus ansis instructa, Gerhardus autem ampullam huc referre potuerit, nemo, ut opinor, intellegit." Pamphilus<sup>5</sup> and Pollux<sup>6</sup> tell us that it was the favorite cup of Dionysus, a statement which is also made about the kantharos.<sup>7</sup> Some of the forms which have been assigned to the *κότυλος* are given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. Forms assigned to the Kotylos.



*a, b, c, d,* Kotylos or Kotyle according to Krause.

*e, f, g,* Kotylos or Kotyle according to Jahn.

*h,* Kotylos or Kotyle according to Ussing.

*i,* Kotylos (Panofka), Kotyle (Gerhard).

*k,* Kotyle (Panofka), Skyphos (Gerhard).

<sup>1</sup> ap. Ath. 478 b.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* 478 b.

<sup>3</sup> Onom. VI, 99.

<sup>4</sup> l.c. p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> ap. Ath. 478 c.

<sup>6</sup> Onom. VI, 99.

<sup>7</sup> Macr. Sat. V, 21.



Since our literary evidence has led to such unsatisfactory results, it would appear that the only promising way of approaching the subject of the names of Greek vases is that recommended by E. Pottier in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*<sup>1</sup> and followed by him in the case of the kotylos. He says: "Dans cette incertitude, nous croyons que la méthode la plus sûre est de se reporter aux monuments eux-mêmes, et de rechercher si parmi les vases conservés dans les musées, il n'en est pas quelques-uns qu'on puisse designer sûrement par le nom de cotyle." It has therefore seemed to me that light might be thrown on this difficult subject by collecting and comparing the widely-scattered representations of the few vases inscribed with their names that have come down to us. If no satisfactory conclusions are reached, the collection may be useful in the case of the discovery of other such vases. In making this collection I have not included those inscriptions scratched on the feet of vases, which appear to be potters' memoranda. I have omitted them both because they have been exhaustively treated by Schöne,<sup>2</sup> and because, while he has shown clearly that the view held by Letronne and Jahn, that these inscriptions have no connection with the vase on which they are found, is incorrect, he makes it equally clear<sup>3</sup> that they cannot be relied on as designations of the vase on which they are inscribed. Disregarding inscriptions of this class, I have found the following:<sup>4</sup>

1. A kylix found at Athens. The inscription, which is published C.I.G. 545, has been extensively quoted and commented on.<sup>5</sup>

Κηφισοφώντος ἡ κύλιξ· εἰς δὲ τις κατάξῃ,  
δραχμὴν ἀποτείσει, δῶρον δὲν παρὰ ξέν[ο]υ [Θρασ]ύ[λλου].

<sup>1</sup> s.v. *cotyle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber einige eingeritzte Inschr. griech. Thongefässe in Comm. in hon. Th. Mommsen.*

<sup>3</sup> See examples 17-25.

<sup>4</sup> In most cases I have been unable to get the dimensions because they were not given by those who published the vases. All the details of vases inscribed with their names are interesting and important (especially in comparing different vases of the same kind), and should be given.

<sup>5</sup> The information given in the C.I.G. about the vase and its inscription is as follows: In poculo rotundo fictili Athenis reperto. Titulum apud Leakium vidit Müllerus et aliquot verba ex memoria dedit: integrum ex schedis Guil. Gellii misit Rosius. Litterae male exaratae sunt.

The present location of this vase is unknown. It is not in the British Museum, nor in Cambridge, where many of Colonel Leake's antiquities went, nor in Athens. It is probably in some private collection. No representation of it appears ever to have been published. Ussing quotes it as establishing the form of the kylix, and speaks of it as if he had seen it, but Jahn<sup>1</sup> says ten years later: "Leider ist die Form nicht genauer angegeben." It is strange that so interesting a vase has been wholly lost sight of. The arrangement of the inscription would suit the form generally accepted as that of the Kylix.<sup>2</sup>

2. A lekythos found at Eboli in southern Italy. The inscription is given C.I.G. 8498 and elsewhere, and is as follows:

Διονυσίου ἀλά(κ)υθος τοῦ Ματάλου.

A cut of it is given in the *Annal. d. Inst. Arch. Rom.* 1831, Tav. D. 2, and is reproduced in Fig. 2.

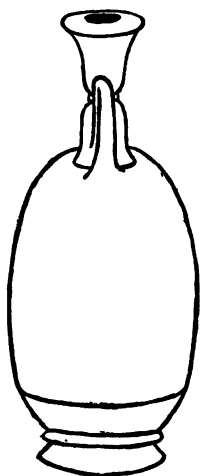


FIG. 2. Lekythos from Eboli.

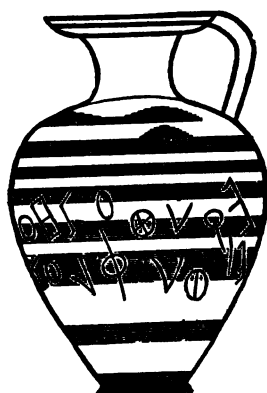


FIG. 3. Lekythos from Cumae.

3. A lekythos found at Cumae, and now in the British Museum. The inscription, which is given C.I.G. 8337, and elsewhere, is as follows:

<sup>1</sup> l.c. xcvi.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 6.

Ταταίης εἰμι λήκυθος· ὅς δ' ἂν με κλέψῃ, θυφλὸς ἔσται.

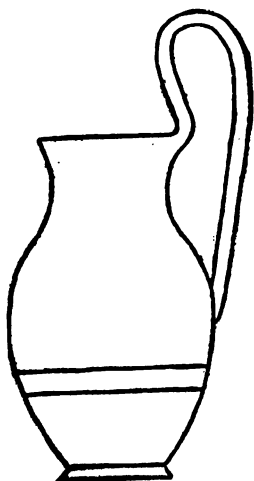


FIG. 4. Vase (marked ἡμ-  
χώνη) from Caere.

A cut of it is given in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* II, Tav. I, 2, and is reproduced in Fig. 3.

4. A vase found at Caere, and now in the Louvre. The inscription, dimensions, and a cut, reproduced in Fig. 4, are given in the *Revue Arch.* 1862, 1. 332. The inscription reads as follows :

Λυσίας μ' ἐποίησεν ἡμιχώνη.

5. A cup found in a tomb at Gorna, above Paleapolis, in the island of Cerigo (Cythera), and now in the British Museum. The inscription is given I.G.A. 76, and elsewhere ; it is as follows :

ἡμικοτύλιον.

This cup was formerly in the collection of M. Rangabé of Athens, and a sketch of his is published by Queipo, *Systèmes Métriques et Monétaires*, 1. 545. The much better sketch which is reproduced in Fig. 5 was sent me by Mr. Cecil Smith of the British Museum. This cup is described as two-handed by Birch<sup>1</sup>

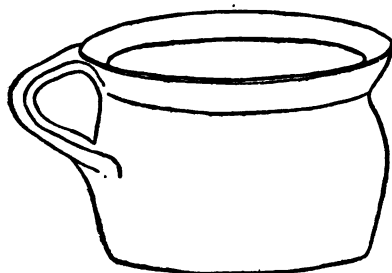


FIG. 5. Cup (marked ἡμικοτύλιον) from Cythera.

and said to have been found at Corfu (Corcyra). Both errors are reproduced in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Pottery*, p. 375.

The former, which Mr. Smith says was first made in the Parliamentary Report for 1859, has been widely circulated. Rangabé's sketch, which Birch seems to have intended to reproduce, shows that the cup has but one handle. The cup is 0.067 m. in height, and 0.10 in circumference.

6. A kylix found at Rhodes, and now in the British Museum.

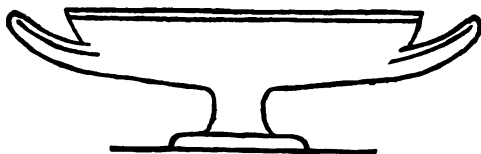


FIG. 6. Kylix found in Rhodes.

The inscription is published in the *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, 1885, p. 373, and reads as follows :

Φιλτός<sup>1</sup> ἡμὶ τὰς καλὰς αἰ κύλιχες αἰ ποικίλα.

The cut in the *J.H.S.* is reproduced in Fig. 6.

7. A kotylos found at Thespieae, and now in the Louvre. The inscription is given by Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 1130, and elsewhere. It reads as follows :

Μογεία

δίδωσι τᾷ[ι] γυναικὶ δῶρον Εὐχάρι  
τητύρητιφάντου κότυλον, ὡς χάδαν πήη.

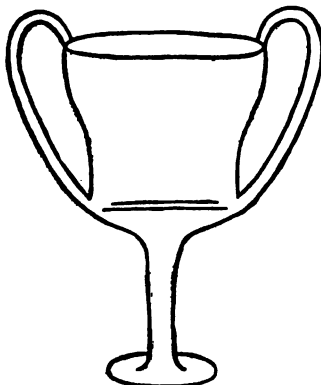


FIG. 7. Kotylos from Thespieae.

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 92.

The cut, which is reproduced in Fig. 7, is published by E. Pottier in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *cotyle*. The vase is 0.15 high.

8. Our vase, described above, and represented on p. 89.

We have then only eight vases inscribed with their names. From single names we can draw no satisfactory conclusions. The hemichone (4) therefore may be set aside. Its inscription, too, undoubtedly refers to its capacity and not to its form.<sup>1</sup> Since no representation of 1 has been found, we have only one kylix (6). This corresponds in every respect with the type universally agreed on as that of the kylix. A comparison of it with 1 would be most interesting. Fortunately we have two lekythoi.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that they differ from each other in many particulars. Fig. 2 corresponds much more closely than the other with the type generally assumed as that of the lekythos. The vase represented in Fig. 3 would certainly not be called a lekythos, if it were not so inscribed.

In the case of the kotylos we are still more fortunate, for we have three vases of that class.<sup>3</sup> The inscription on the cup represented in Fig. 5 evidently refers to its capacity and not to its form, and hence that cup cannot fairly be considered to throw light on the question of the form of the kotylos. It may be noted, however, that it alone is one-handed. May not the one-handed kotyloi referred to in Athenaeus and elsewhere have derived their name, originally at least, not from their form, but from their capacity? Comparing the other two cups, we find that they differ in every particular, in their handles, in the shape of their bodies, and in their feet, although they are from neighboring towns in Boeotia, and may possibly be of about the same date.<sup>4</sup> 7 would certainly be called a kantharos, if it were not inscribed as a kotylos. It corresponds exactly with the type agreed on as that of the kantharos. It may be that kantharos is the correct name for such a cup, and that kotylos is a general term, but in the absence of a vase designated as

<sup>1</sup> M. de Witte (*Rev. Arch.* l.c.) suggests that  $\chi\acute{o}\nu\eta$  is an Italian equivalent of  $\chi\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$ , and his measurement of the capacity of this vase supports this conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Figs. 2 and 3.

<sup>3</sup> Figs. 5, 7, and our vase.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel describes 7 as inscribed in "Boeotian letters of the sixth century," but, as has been said, the dating of Boeotian inscriptions is not an easy matter. Both 7 and our vase might belong to the fifth century B.C.

a kantharos it is not safe to draw this conclusion. It is interesting that both the kantharos and the kotylos are mentioned as the favorite cup of Dionysus. The form most commonly found represented in the hands of Dionysus is that of Fig. 7. It would certainly seem that *κότυλος*, at least in Boeotia in the fifth century, was a very general term, nearly as much so as *pocolom* in Latin inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Of course it is possible that this was not true in other parts of Greece, and in later times.

So far as any conclusion can be drawn from these few inscribed vases, we are led to agree with M. Pottier,<sup>2</sup> who says: "il est légitime de supposer que le cotyle admettait quelques variantes de forme ou que ce nom s'appliquait à plusieurs vases un peu différent dans les détails, car nous constatons à chaque instant que cette terminologie antique n'avait rien de bien fixe ni d'arrêté." This same conclusion was reached in a different way by M. Homolle. In his publication of the Delian inventories<sup>3</sup> he says: "Les inventaires eux-mêmes montrent le peu de fixité qu'avaient les noms des vases et la témérité qu'il y aurait à vouloir identifier chaque espèce." He finds the same vase called by different names in the different inventories.

It remains to speak of the capacity of our cup. It is about 0.6 litre, nearly three Athenian or two Theban kotylae. Measured as far as the upper rim it is about 0.36 litre, which is not far from the capacity assigned by Hultsch<sup>4</sup> to the Theban kotyle (0.379). This correspondence is merely accidental, it would seem, for there seems to be no ground for leaving the rim out of account. Unfortunately the capacity of 7 has not been measured, but from our vase alone we are justified in saying that the term kotylos, as applied to cups, did not always refer to their capacity.

<sup>1</sup> Pocolom is found inscribed on vases of very different forms. Cf. a and c in Pl. X of Ritschl's *Prisc. Lat. Mon.*

<sup>2</sup> Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire*, s.v. *cotyle*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 6, 1882, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Metrologie*, p. 543.



## NEDUM.<sup>1</sup>

BY J. W. H. WALDEN.

THE constructions with *nedum* have not as yet been successfully analyzed and reduced to one primitive form. Such expressions as 'so much the more,' 'so much the less,' 'geschweige denn,' serve to translate, but do not explain the word. Indeed, the first two of these expressions would seem to imply that the word had two distinctly opposite uses, and those who have attempted the explanation of the constructions with *nedum* do not seem to have gone back of such a conception. Kühner,<sup>2</sup> though he recognizes that, aside from those cases in which the principal clause is both in meaning and in form negative, there are still other cases in which the principal clause, though in form affirmative, is virtually negative, does not abandon the twofold classification of *nedum*-sentences or attempt an explanation of the division which he accepts. "In einem negativen Gedanken wird durch *nedum* ausgedrückt, dass ein Gedanke oder Begriff weit weniger als der vorangegangene stattfindet, und dann ist *nedum* = *multo minus*. In einem affirmativen Gedanken, dass ein Gedanke oder Begriff, der sich von selbst versteht, nicht erst zu beweisen sei, und dann ist *nedum* bald = *multo magis*, bald = *multo minus*." Madvig<sup>3</sup> has apparently the same idea: 'From the time of Livy, it (i.e. *nedum*) occurs also without the negative preceding.' Fischer<sup>4</sup> in his explanation seems to lose sight of the essential force of *nedum* (*ne + dum*).

The passages in which the word occurs are in any one author comparatively few outside of Livy and Cicero. It is found in all Livy about twenty-five times, and still fewer times in Cicero. Caesar does

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. J. B. Greenough for the germ of this article. It was he who first pointed out to me the line along which the solution of *ne + dum* was to be sought.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 677; cf. p. 618. Cf. Hand, Tursell, IV, p. 150. Dräger, II, p. 693.

<sup>3</sup> 461, obs. 3; cf. Zumpt, 573.

<sup>4</sup> Lat. Gr. II, p. 734.



not use the word. Terence, Lucretius, and Horace have it each once. There is a light sprinkling of cases throughout the rest of the Latin literature. *Ne* used with the force of *nedum* occurs in only a very few passages.

The fact that the verb which *nedum* accompanies is, when expressed, invariably in the subjunctive mood, and the further fact that *ne* (as well as *nedum ut* and *ne ut*) is occasionally used with the same force as *nedum*, points out to us the lines along which we have to look for the explanation of the *nedum*-constructions. We have in the first place to recognize in these constructions cases of logical brachylogy of a similar nature to that involved in such expressions as *ne diu morer*, *ne longus sim*, *ut ita dicam*, etc. Neither in these cases, however, nor in the case of *nedum*, is it necessary to suppose that there is any omission of words once actually used. The brachylogy is one of logic only and is perfectly natural in any language. A comparison and examination of a few sentences will show us how close to the negative-purpose use of *ne* lies the use of *ne* with the force of *nedum* (as well as *nedum* itself).

A. Cic. de imp. Pomp. 8, 20 :

Atque ut omnes intellegant me Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, . . . dico eius adventu . . . copias . . . ornatas atque instructas fuisse. . . .

B. Cic. Senec. 17, 59 :

Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum . . . cum Lysander . . . venisset ad eum . . . ei quemdam consaeptum agrum diligenter consutum ostendisse.

C. Hor. ep. I, 12, 25 :

Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res, | Cantaber Agrippae, Claudii virtute Neronis | Armenius cecidit.

D. Cic. Planc. 11, 27 :

Vitia mehercule Cn. Plancii res eae, de quibus dixi, tegere potuerunt, ne tu in ea vita, de qua iam dicam, tot et tanta adiumenta huic honori fuisse mirere.

E. Cic. Verr. IV, 23, 52 :

Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt ; ne quem putetis sine maximo dolore argentum caelatum domo, quod alter eriperet, protulisse.

F. Plaut. Amph. I, 1, 174 (330) :

Vix incedo inanis, ne ire posse cum onere existumes.

G. Aus. 407, 4 :

In comitatu tibi verus fui, nedum me peregre existimes composita fabulari.

H. Liv. XXVI, 13 :

Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis prouerunt . . . ; nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam. . . .

I. Apul. Apol. 66 :

At hoc ego Aemiliano, non huic Afro, sed illi Africano et Numantino et praeterea Censorio vix credidissem; ne huic frutici credam non modo odium peccatorum sed saltem intellectum inesse.

K. Ter. Heaut. III, 1, 45 (454) :

Satrapa si siet | amator, numquam sufferre eius sumptus queat; | nedum tu possis.

Of these sentences, A, B, and C are examples of simple purpose clauses. The logical sequence of thought is more perfectly expressed in A than in either B or C, though we may reasonably doubt whether the form B was not historically prior to the form A. The first intimation of the *nedum* use of *ne* appears when the ideas expressed by the dependent and independent clauses verge toward the antithetical. There is no suggestion of an antithesis in C; the dependent clause, though conceived as being the purpose of the utterance of the independent clause, is virtually explained by the independent clause. In *atqui, ne nostros contemnas, . . . , Graeci quoque ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt, . . .* (Cic. de Or. II, 12, 51), *ne . . . contemnas* is not only conceived of as being the purpose of the utterance of *Graeci . . . scriptitarunt*; there is besides, from the nature of the ideas expressed in the two clauses, an incipient antithesis. The thought expressed is of course this: 'to prevent your thinking meanly of our writers, (I will say that) the Greeks, with all their present skill, didn't do any better at first.' It is important to notice, however, that the antithesis is not one of which the two members are on a line of equality. The only plea for the introduction of the antithesis is the acknowledged existing literary superiority of the Greeks. We thus have degree at the outset.

Very similar to this sentence from Cicero is D and Plaut. M. G. IV,

6, 58 (1266) : *Viri quoque armati idem istuc faciunt: | Ne tu mirere mulierem.* Compare also Cic. de Or. II, 46, 193 : *Sed, ut dixi, ne hoc in nobis mirum esse videatur, quid potest esse tam fictum quam versus, quam scena, quam fabulae?* Also Plaut. Capt. III, 4, 15 (547) : *Hegio, hic homo rabiosus habitus est in Alide; | ne tu quod istic fabuletur auris inmittas tuas.* E is farther advanced than any of the previous sentences that have been considered, and is so far on its way to being a pure *nedum*-sentence that we should not be offended if *ne* were here replaced by *nedum*; at the same time, the clause introduced by *ne* is purely the purpose of the utterance of the independent clause. There is no line between *ne* used with the force of *nedum* and *ne* in its more familiar aspect, so that it must sometimes happen that we are in doubt how to take the word. Thus F (like E) may be taken in either way; exactly parallel to F, however, is G, in which *nedum* is read. We naturally expect to find in the clause introduced by *nedum* (and *ne* with the force of *nedum*) a verb of similar signification to the verb of the principal clause, as in K, and, if the reading in F were *vix incedo inanis, ne ire possim cum onere*, we should be in no doubt as to the nature of the dependent clause. As a matter of fact, however, although in the majority of passages in which *nedum* occurs the verb of the dependent clause is of similar signification to the verb of the principal clause, a few cases are found (as G and H) in which the logical sequence of thought is expressed more fully by the insertion of a further idea (as in *existimes* and *credam*). Thus K is to G as B is to A, though in the one case it is the dependent clause that is in question, in the other case, the principal clause. I stands on the same footing as K, the *credam* being the counterpart of *credidissem* and not like the *credam* of H.

The logical, though not necessarily the historical, evolution of an imaginary sentence based on K may then be represented by the four following forms :

- (1) Ne (dum) tu te posse credas, dico neque satrapam posse.
- (2) Ne (dum) tu te posse credas, neque satrapa potest.
- (3) Ne (dum) tu possis, satrapa non potest.
- (4) Satrapa non potest, ne (dum) tu possis.

The idea of (4) is of course what is expressed in full in (1) : 'To preclude the possibility of your doing it (or thinking you can do it), (why, I will say) a nabob couldn't do it.'

Although this scheme may be taken as representative of the logical evolution of a fully developed *nedum*-sentence, it is not meant to be implied that historically any such development ever took place. The brachylogy of even the third form is perfectly natural, and (2) may have been a later development of (3), due to a wish to express more fully the thought implied in (3), as (1) was probably a later development of (2), and B a later development of A.

Of course it has long been a patent fact that the constructions with *nedum* were to be understood as examples of logical brachylogy, but this long analysis will not have been without its value if it shall have shown how essentially the same are the uses of *nedum* (and *ne* with the force of *nedum*) and *ne* in its more familiar aspect. It would seem as though, if this identity were kept in mind, the force of the *dum* in *nedum* could not be misapprehended.

If we compare F and G, we notice that there is no difference in the way in which *ne* and *nedum* are there used. The force of *dum* appended to *ne* can, if properly understood, be appreciated, as the force of *dum* appended to *vix* can be appreciated; but there is probably no case in which either *nedum* or *vixdum* is used, in which, allowing for a slight loss of color, *ne* or *vix* (respectively) could not have been used as well, and *vice versa*. We are led to ask then, what is the signification of *dum* as appended to *ne*? The common explanation makes it a strengthening particle, having the same force as when appended to *age*, *mane*, and words of a similar import. "Es (i.e. *nedum*) ist zusammengesetzt aus dem prohibitiven *ne* und dem Adverb *dum*, das eigentlich einen Zeitverlauf bezeichnet, dann aber auch als Enklitika zur Verstärkung und Hebung eines Begriffes verwendet wird, als: *agedum* u. s. w.; es heisst also eigentlich: *dass ja nicht* und wird daher mit dem Konjunktive verbunden."<sup>1</sup> "Praeterea cum *ne* coniunctum est *dum*, quod . . . decursum temporis indicat et ad augendam negationem ita refertur, ut germanico *durchaus nicht* respondeat."<sup>2</sup>

What led to this explanation of the *dum* in *nedum* was probably the imperative force which must always be more or less perceptible in a *ne*-clause and is a remnant of the primitive paratactic construction.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kühner, II, p. 677.

<sup>2</sup> Hand, Tursell, IV, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Of course it must occasionally be the case in a *nedum*-clause that there is a

Thus, apparently, *ne dum maneam* was put in the same category with *mane dum*; i.e. as *mane dum* meant *wait a bit*, so *ne dum mane* was made to mean *not to wait a bit*. The difficulty with this explanation is this: While the *dum* of *mane dum* is appended to the imperative and affects directly the imperative, the *dum* of *ne dum mane* is appended to the negative and should affect directly the negative. In all other combinations in which *dum* is appended to a negative word, as in *non* (*haud, nec, neque*) *dum, vix dum, nihil dum*, the *dum* has distinctly the force that we attach to the word 'yet' when preceded by a negative. *Dum* has the peculiar force of *a while, a bit, just*, in imperative clauses, only when appended immediately to the *verb*. Thus *nedum* should mean *in order that not yet*, as in *satrapa non potest, nedum tu possis* = 'in order that the possibility of your doing it may not yet come into consideration, why, a nabob couldn't do it'; 'to exclude the possibility of your doing it, why, a nabob couldn't do it'; 'a nabob couldn't do it, you couldn't come anywhere near doing it.' The idea is: 'your ability to do it need not come into consideration yet; i.e. *until* a nabob at least can do it.'<sup>1</sup> There is involved in such a sentence a scale of possibilities, of which the *dum* is in a way the exponent. The same idea would be expressed paratactically thus: *satrapa non potest, nondum tu potes*. Thus, Liv. XXXIII, 21: *cum is status rerum in Asia Graeciaque et Macedonia esset, vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, pace certe nondum perpetrata, ingens in Hispania ulteriore coortum est bellum*, might perfectly well have been expressed, *cum is status rerum in Asia Graeciaque et Macedonia esset, vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, nedum pax perpetrata sit, ingens in Hispania ulteriore coortum est bellum*. The use of *vixdum* in this sentence, and its use elsewhere in conjunction with *nedum* is itself significant of the way in which *nedum* is to be understood. Clearly there is in every case the idea of a scale of possibilities present to the mind of the writer or speaker. Thus, Liv. XXIV,

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greater suggestion of the paratactic construction than of the dependent construction. Cf. Plaut. Asin. II, 2, 71 (319): *Habeo opinor familiarem tergum, ne quaeram foris*. Cf. Plaut. Cist. II, 1, 2 (202). Cf. also Curt. VI, 3, 12, and III, 2, 15, *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless such uses as *ne dum hoc fac, abibo nedum me videat*, were once common, we should find, if we could go back of the time when *nedum* had become stereotyped in use. Cf. Apul. Apol. 39, *infra*.

4: *Puerum, vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modice laturum* = 'to exclude the idea (or possibility) of his getting as far as the mark of *dominationem ferre*, why, he will hardly be able to get as far as the line of *libertatem ferre*.' The *vixdum* and *nedum* of this sentence are exactly parallel to the *vixdum* and *nondum* of Liv. XXXIII, 21.

Of course, as the simple *ne* expresses, though with something less of color, the same thing that is expressed by *nedum*, there must be occasions when it is indifferent which of the two words is used. In this respect, *vix* and *vixdum* are perfectly parallel to *ne* and *nedum*.

With

Caes. B. G. VI, 8:

*Vix* agmen novissimum extra munitiones processerat, cum . . . flumen transire . . . non dubitant.

or

Cic. Verr. IV, 40, 86:

*Vix* erat hoc plane etiam imperatum, cum illum spoliatum stipatumque lictoribus videres.

and

Cic. Att. IX, 2:

*Vixdum* epistolam legeram, cum ad me . . . Postumus Curtius venit.

Compare

Plaut. Amph. I, 1, 174 (330):

*Vix* incedo inanis, *ne* ire posse cum onere existimes.

and

Aus. 407, 4:

In comitatu tibi verus fui, *nedum* me peregre existimes composita fabulari.

It is very evident that, if the above interpretation of *nedum* is the correct one, the principal clause of every sentence containing a *nedum* (or a *ne* having the force of a *nedum*) must in the nature of the case contain a negative idea, or, at least, that the prevailing idea of the context in which the clause with *nedum* stands must be negative. The idea brought forward in the dependent clause with *nedum* — itself a negative idea — can be put out of consideration only by an appeal to the readers' or listeners' reason, made by a still stronger

negation in the principal clause. Of course we must expect to find the negative disguised in various forms, and even at times expressed affirmatively. Let us examine the passages in which *nedum* (and *ne* with the force of *nedum*) occurs, and see how the case actually stands.<sup>1</sup>

In the following cases, the principal clause is obviously negative in form as well as in meaning.

Ter. H. T. III, 1, 45 (454) :

Satrapa si siet | amator, numquam sufferre eius sumptus queat ; | *nedum* tu possis.

Liv. XL, 15 :

Attonitus repentino atque inopinato malo, vix, quid obiceretur, intelligere potui ; *nedum* satis sciam quo modo me tuear.

Cic. Planc. 37, 90 :

Ego vero ne immortalitatem quidem contra rem publicam accipiendam putarem, *nedum* emori cum pernicie rei publicae vellem.

Cic. Fam. XVI, 8 :

Vix in ipsis tectis et oppidis frigus infirma valetudine vitatur, *nedum* in mari et via sit facile abesse ab iniuria temporis.

Cic. Clu. 35, 95 :

Optimis hercule temporibus . . . nec P. Pompilius neque Q. Metellus . . . vim tribuniciam sustinere potuerunt ; *nedum* his temporibus . . . salvi esse possimus.

Cic. leg. agr. II, 97 :

Singularis homo privatus . . . vix facile sese regionibus officii . . . continet ; *nedum* isti . . . non statim conquisituri sint aliquid sceleris et flagitii.

Prop. I, 4, 9 :

Et quascumque tulit formosi temporis aetas,  
Cynthia non illas nomen habere sinet,  
Nedum, si levibus fuerit conlata figuris,  
Inferior duro iudice turpis eat.

<sup>1</sup> This list of passages does not profess to be complete for all the Latin literature. Where every author has not been carefully examined, it must almost inevitably be the case that some passages have escaped observation. It is believed, however, that such cases are few and confined to the later literature.

Lucret. I, 654 :

Amplius hoc fieri nihil est quod posse rearis  
Talibus in causis ; nedum variantia rerum  
Tanta queat densis rarisque ex ignibus esse.

Cic. Inv. I, 39, 70 :

Nec tamen Epaminondae permitteremus, ne si extra iudicium quidem esset, ut is nobis sententiam legis interpretaretur, nedum nunc istum patiamur, cum praesto lex sit.

Liv. III, 14 :

Ne voce quidem incommoda, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem.

Cic. pro dom. 54, 139 :<sup>1</sup>

Quae si omnia ex Coruncan<sup>is</sup> scientia . . . acta esse constarent . . . , tamen in scelere religio non valeret ; nedum valeat id quod imperitus adulescens . . . fecisse dicatur.

Liv. XXIII, 43 :

Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali futuros, quam ad Cannas fuissent ; nedum praetor unus, cum paucis et novis militibus, Nola tutari possit.

Liv. XXX, 21 :

Adeo ne advenientem quidem gratiam homines benigne accipere, nedum ut praeteritae satis memores sint.

Apul. Met. IX, 29 :

Vix etiam paucos holerum manipulos de proximo hortulo solet anhelitu languido fatigatus subvehere, nedum ut rebus amplioribus idoneus videatur gerulus.

Liv. XXXVII, 41 :

Ne ex medio quidem cornua sua circumspicere poterant, nedum extremi inter se conspicerentur.

Boeth. I, 6 :

Vix, inquam, rogationis tuae sententiam nosco, nedum ad inquisita respondere queam.

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<sup>1</sup> With variant *ne*.



Boeth. IV, 6 :

Nihil est enim quod mali causa nec ab ipsis quidem improbis fiat . . . ; nedum ordo de summi boni cardine proficiscens a suo quenquam deflectat exordio.

Tertull. adv. Marc. I, 23 :

Nec . . . liceat, nedum ut ipsa bonitas irrationalis deprehendatur.

Senec. Const. Sap. 8 :

. . . quae sapientem, etiamsi universa circumveniant, non mergunt, nedum ad singulorum impulsus maereat.

Here belong the following cases of *ne*.

Apul. Apol. 66 :

At hoc ego Aemiliano, non huic Afro, sed illi Africano et Numantino et praeterea Censorio vix credidissem ; ne huic frutici credam non modo odium peccatorum sed saltem intellectum inesse.

Apul. Fl. 16, 9 :

Quae mihi ne in mediocribus quidem civitatibus unquam defuere ; ne ut Carthagini desint, ubi splendidissimus ordo de rebus maioribus iudicare potius solet, quam computare.

Apul. Apol. 39 :

Alios etiam multis versibus decoravit, et ubi gentium quisque eorum, qualiter assus aut iussulentus optime sapiat, nec tamen ab eruditis reprehenditur ; ne ego reprehendar, qui res paucissimis cognitae Graece et Latine propriis et elegantibus vocabulis conscribo.<sup>1</sup>

Sen. de mort. Claud. 9 :

Is multa diserte, quod in foro iuvat, dixit, quae notarius persequi non potuit : et ideo non refero ; ne aliis verbis ponam, quae ab illo dicta sunt.

Curt. VI, 3, 12 :

Ne Darius quidem haereditarium Persarum accepit imperium ; sed in sedem Cyri, beneficio Bagoae castrati hominis, admissus ; ne vos magno labore credatis Bessum vacuum regnum occupaturum.

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<sup>1</sup> This sentence does not strictly belong in the category of *nedum*-sentences, but it was probably through such forms as this partly that the *nedum*-sentences came. Put *dum* after *ne*, and the sentence might have stood, before *nedum* became stereotyped in its use. Cf. p. 108. Also, Sen. ep. 9, 17 : *Ne . . . emisit*.

Curt. III, 2, 15 :

Et ne auri argentique studio teneri putes, adhuc illa disciplina paupertate magistra stetit.

Where there is an approach to an antithesis, as there necessarily is between the clause introduced by *nedum* and the principal clause of the sentence, there is always felt the tendency to omit in the dependent clause all but the emphatic and contrasted member. Of course, this member may be a verb, in which case the sentence is reduced to the form of Liv. XL, 15 (see p. 110), or it may be any other word or combination of words. In the latter case, *nedum* is apparently used absolutely, that is, without a verb. It is simply a question of the omission of uncontrasted words, however, and in nearly all the cases the lacking words readily suggest themselves from the context. In the following sentences *nedum* is used in this apparently absolute way with an obvious negative preceding.

Liv. XXXVI, 24 :

Quae vix capere, nedum tueri, multitudinem tantam possit.

Liv. XXIV, 40.

Militi quoque, nedum regi, vix decoro habitu.

Apul. Met. IX, 32 :

Quippe cum meus dominus prae nimia paupertate ne sibi quidem, nedum mihi, posset stramen aliquod . . . parare. . . .

Liv. XXIV, 4 :

Puerum, vixdum libertatem, nedum dominationem, modice laturum.

Liv. XXXIV, 20 :

Vix clamorem eorum, nedum impetum . . . tulere.

Liv. XXXV, 43 :

Vix ad Graeciam nudam occupandam satis copiarum, nedum ad sustinendum Romanum bellum.

Liv. XXXIV, 25 :

Haud sane movit quenquam, quia nihil usquam spei propinquae, nedum satis firmi praesidii, cernebant.

Liv. XXXII, 25 :

Neque enim pares eos oppidanis solis, qui idem quod Macedones sentirent, nedum adiunctis Macedonibus, esse, quos ne Romani quidem ad Corinthum sustinuissent.

Suet. Tit. 1 :

Ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit.

Tac. Hist. V, 5 :

Igitur nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt.

Suet. Tib. 44 :

Maiore adhuc et turpiore infamia flagravit, vix ut referri audirive, nedum credi, fas sit.

Suet. Gr. 1 :

Grammatica Romae ne in usu quidem olim, nedum in honore ullo, erat.

Liv. VI, 7 :

Et aegre inermem tantam multitudinem, nedum armatam, sustineri posse.

Amm. Marc. XVIII, 6, 7 :

Invenimus hominem mediocris staturae et parvi angustique animi vix sine turpi metu sufficientem ad levem convivii nedum proelii strepitum perferendum.

Sen. V. B. 11 :

Non voco autem sapientem supra quem quidquam est, nedum voluptas (*i.e.* nedum illum sapientem vocem supra quem voluptas sit).

Sen. Const. Sap. 5 :

Sic contra casus indurat ut nec inclinari quidem, nedum vinci, possit.

Iust. I, 2, 1 :

. . . tot ac tantis gentibus vix patienter uni viro, nedum feminae, parituris. . . .

Iust. XL, 2, 3 :

. . . ne volenti quidem Syriae, nedum recusanti daturum se regem. . . .

Plin. H. N. VII, 45 :

Nulla est profecto solida felicitas, quam contumelia ulla vitae rumpit, nedum tanta.

Curt. VII, 4, 4 :

. . . Cum retrocedendo posset perducere incautos in loca, naturae situ invia, tot fluminibus obiectis, tot montium latebris, inter quas deprehensus hostis ne fugae quidem, nedum resistendi occasionem fuerit habiturus.

Vell. Pat. II, 89 :

Quae magnificentia triumphorum eius, quae fuerit munerum, ne in operis quidem iusti materia, nedum huius tam recisi, digne exprimi potest.

Vell. Pat. II, 103 :

Laetitia illius diei . . . vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus, nedum hic implere.

Vell. Pat. II, 106 :

Denique, quod nunquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere tentatum erat.

Col. VIII, 17 :

Nam vile ne captare quidem, nedum alere conducit.

Col. III, 10 :

At quae citra naturae quandam pubertatem, immatura atque intempestiva planta direpta trunco, vel terrae, vel etiam stirpi recisae inseritur, quasi puerilis aetas, ne ad coitum quidem, nedum ad conceptum habilis, vim generandi vel in totum perdit, vel certe minuit.

Senec. Const. Sap. 3 :

Magna promittis, et quae ne optari quidem, nedum credi possint.

Sen. Ep. 99 :

Nemo enim libenter tristi conversatur, nedum tristitiae.

Sen. Cont. 33 :

Egentem hominem, et qui ne se quidem alere, nedum alios posset. . . .

The following case of *ne* belongs in this class.

Cic. Fam. IX, 26 :

Me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem.

We may observe in passing that the number of cases in which a direct negative is used in the principal clause is very great in com-

parison with the whole number of cases in which *nedum* is found. There are other cases in which the principal clause, though not negative in form, is obviously virtually a negative. The negative idea which pervaded the thought of the writer in such cases and influenced his mode of expression, is clothed sometimes in the form of a rhetorical question, sometimes in the form of a word or expression, apparently affirmative, but really in sense negative.

Tac. Ann. IV, 11 :

Quis enim mediocri prudentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret ? (*i.e.* nemo mediocri prudentia praeditus, nedum. . . .).

Tac. Dial. 10 :

Quando enim rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat? Nedum ut per tot provincias inveterascat (*i.e.* nunquam . . . , nedum . . .).

Liv. XXXVIII, 50 :

Quid autem tuto cuiquam, nedum summam rem publicam, permitti, si ratio non sit reddenda (*i.e.* nihil . . . , nedum . . .).

Boeth. III, 4 :

Quid est quod in se expetendae pulchritudinis habeat, nedum aliis praestent ? (*i.e.* nihil est . . . , nedum . . .).

Sometimes, as if in an excess of emotion, the writer or speaker makes a jump from the negative to the affirmative form of expression. In such cases, however, the negative idea still pervades the sentence.

Liv. XXVI, 13 :

Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis proruerunt . . . ; nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam (*i.e.* Albae . . . non pepercerunt, nedum . . .).

Hor. A. P. 69 :

Debemur morti nos nostraque . . . ,  
Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax

(*i.e.* nec nos morti resistere (stare) possumus, nedum . . .).

Prop. I, 9, 31 :

Quisquis es, adsiduas a fuge blanditias ;  
Illis et silices possunt, et cedere quercus ;  
Nedum tu possis, spiritus iste levis

(*i.e.* neque silices neque quercus resistere possunt, nedum tu possis resistere).

Auct. ad. Her. IV, 9 :

Si cum finitimis de finibus bellum gererent, . . . omnibus rebus instructiores . . . venirent; nedum isti imperium orbis terrae . . . ad se transferre tantulis viribus conarentur (*i.e.* etiam si . . . gererent, . . . non paucis rebus . . . venirent; nedum . . .).

Aus. 407, 4 :

In comitatu tibi verus fui, nedum me peregre existimes composita fabulari (*i.e.* non in comitatu fabulabar, nedum nunc . . .).

To these should be added the following cases of *ne*.

Liv. III, 52 :

Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripere patribus nostris, ne nunc, dulcedine semel capti, ferant desiderium (*i.e.* non tunc desiderium tulerunt, nedum nunc . . .).

Sall. Cat. XI, 8 :<sup>1</sup>

Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant, nedum illi corruptis moribus victoriae temperarent (*i.e.* quippe neque sapientes victoriae temperant, nedum . . .).

Cic. Verr. IV, 23, 52 :

Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant . . . ; ne quem putetis sine maximo dolore argentum caelatum domo, quod alter eriperet, protulisse (*i.e.* inviti dant = nolunt dare).

Of the above passages, that from Propertius (I, 9, 31) is especially instructive. The fact that in the clause with *nedum* a word is left to be supplied which is nowhere previously expressed and which, if it had been expressed, would have necessitated a negative turn to the independent clause, shows how prominent to the mind of the writer was the idea of negation.

The sentences that follow merit individual consideration.

Liv. XXVI, 26 :

Qui vel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare civitatem forent passuri.

<sup>1</sup> With variant *nedum*.

The complication in this sentence is due to the double character of the contrasted members. The idea of the sentence may be expressed thus: 'Far from playing the peace-maker to the extent of remaining passive in time of war, they won't so much as *not* raise a disturbance in time of peace.' This last clause is expressed affirmatively, but, whether expressed affirmatively or negatively, what is denoted by it is an excess of what is denoted by the *nedum*-clause; *i.e.* an excess of the tendency *not* to play the part of quiet and respectable citizens. A glance at the context in which the passage stands will show that it is this negative idea which is the prominent one throughout.

Cic. de pet. cons. 6, 21 :

Minimis beneficiis homines adducuntur, ut satis causae putent esse ad studium suffragationis, nedum ii, quibus salutem fuisti, quos tu habes plurimos, non intellegant, si hoc tuo tempore tibi non satis fecerint, se probatos nemini unquam fore.

Here the clause with *nedum* is itself negated, so that the independent clause is equivalent to a double negative. Thus *minimis . . . suffragationis* = *homines minimis beneficiis adfecti intellegunt* (*i.e.* *non non intellegunt . . . , nedum . . .*). Cf. Cic. leg. agr. II, 97 (quoted above), where, by a modification of the double negative, a single negative with a verb containing the opposite of the meaning of the verb in the *nedum*-clause, is used.

Plaut. Cas. V, 4, 23 (922), probably spurious; see Ussing's note :

Si unquam posthac aut amasso Casinam, aut occepso modo, | ne ut eam amasso, . . . | nulla causa est, quin pendentem me, uxor, virgis verberes.

The speaker here means, of course, that he will *not* perform the act expressed by *occepso*, much less that expressed by *amasso*.

Tac. Hist. III, 66 :

Fabium illis Valentem, captivum et casibus dubiis reservatum, praegravem fuisse; nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant.

The context in which this passage stands is pervaded by a thoroughly negative idea. The argument is this: 'Vitellius should not submit to Vespasian. If he does, he will receive no mercy. Witness previous cases of the same sort. At no time has a successful

leader held his hand from those who have fallen within his power.' Thus *praegravem* is a virtual negative, implying, as it does, that Fabius received no mercy.

Liv. XXVIII, 40 :

Rebus, quam verbis, assequi malui ut, qui aliorum iudicio mihi comparatus erat, sua mox confessione me sibi praeferret; nedum ego, perfunctus honoribus, certamina mihi atque aemulationes cum adulescente florentissimo proponam.

A glance at the sentences that in the context precede this passage will make it plain that the endeavor of the speaker had been to avoid all word-wrangling; *i.e.* he had never yet argued, but had brought confusion upon his opponent by his *actions*. Thus *rebus . . . praeferret = verbis . . . non certavi*.

Cic. Att. IX, 7, A (Balbus et Oppius) : <sup>1</sup>

Nedum hominum humilium, ut nos sumus, sed etiam amplissimorum virorum consilia ex eventu, non ex voluntate, a plerisque probari solent; tamen freti tua humanitate, quod verissimum nobis videbitur, de eo, quod ad nos scripsisti, tibi consilium dabimus; quod si non fuerit prudens, at certe ab optime fide et optimo animo proficiscetur.

It becomes evident upon a little thought that this whole passage is an excuse, not for a possibility, but for an impossibility; the fact that is emphasized is that the greatest men *cannot* be judged by their intentions (*non ex voluntate*), not that they *are* judged by what they succeed in doing (*ex eventu*).

Apul. Met. V, 10 :

Sat est quod ipsae vidimus quae vidisse paenituit; nedum ut genitoribus et omnibus populis tam beatum eius differamus praeconium.

Plaut. Aul. III, 2, 20 :

Utinam mea mihi modo auferam, quae attuli, salva! | Me haud paenitet, tua ne expetam.

The negative quality of these two sentences, especially that of the first, is somewhat harder to detect, but a little consideration will make the writer's conception in each case clear.

<sup>1</sup> The *nedum* in this sentence is a probable conjecture for the meaningless *meum* of M. Notice that the clause with *nedum* comes first.



In the first passage, the two envious sisters, who have seen their sister's happy state, say in effect: 'We have seen our sister's happiness. We'll let the matter rest there; it's enough that we have seen it; we won't do or say *anything* about it; much less will we make a proclamation of it from the roofs.' Thus, *sat . . . paenituit = nihil aliud neque facere neque pati volumus quam quod haec viderimus*. In the second sentence, *me haud paenitet* is similar in its nature; the speaker says in effect that the mark denoted by his own possessions is high enough for him, that he won't attempt to go higher. Thus, *me haud paenitet = nihil aliud cupio*.

In all the sentences which have up to this point been considered, — and these constitute the greatest number of cases of the occurrence of *nedum* — the dependent clause is either directly negative in form as well as in intent, or, if apparently affirmative, still virtually negative. It is evident that, as long as the verb of the dependent clause is expressed, such negation must, if the sentence is to have any force or meaning at all, be inevitable. For *nedum* itself could never, while the verb which it attended was present, lose its negative force, and if the dependent clause is to be negative, the sentence can have meaning only by containing a stronger negation in the main member. It has been pointed out, however, that the tendency to omit all of the *nedum*-member except the important and contrasted word or phrase was strong. Often this emphatic member was the verb itself, but quite as often it was a pronoun, noun, or other part of speech. To the omission of the verb — the word with which *nedum* really goes — we owe some interesting uses. As examples we may consider the following passages.

Liv. X, 32 :

Ubi et intrare, nedum vastari, ipsi Samnitium agrum prohiberentur.

Liv. VII, 40 :

Quintius, quem armorum etiam pro patria satietas teneret, nedum adversus patriam. . . .

Cic. Att. X, 16, 6 :

Tu, quoniam quartana cares et nedum novum<sup>1</sup> morbum removisti, sed etiam gravedinem.

<sup>1</sup> *nedum*  
*novum* M. Of the other Mss., some give apparently *nedum*, others *novum*.

*Nedum novum* we owe to Orelli.

Cic. Fam. VII, 28, 1 :

Aptius humanitati et suavitati tuae quam tota Peloponnesus, nedum Patrae.

It should require no comment to show that the prevailing idea of these sentences is negative. Thus *prohiberentur* = *non daretur*, *satietas teneret* = *non arma ferret*, *removisti* = *non habes*; the last sentence = *non Peloponnesus tam aptus, nedum Patrae*. If the verb of the dependent clause in each case were expressed, the sentences would be quite parallel to many that we have already considered. The verbs that are suppressed of course easily suggest themselves from those that are expressed. Still, the latter could not be inserted in the dependent clauses without a change in form. Though virtually negative, they are in form affirmative, and if we attempted to supply the lacking verbs of the *nedum*-clauses, we should have first to resolve the affirmative verbs with negative meanings into their component parts of verb and negative, as has been done above. Thus, the first of the sentences quoted above would be, *ubi et intrare prohiberentur, nedum vastari daretur*. Of course, if it were wished to supply the verb, this change, as being quite natural, would be made without a thought. The application of the principle involved is so very common — being the same which leads us to supply *possis* from *potest* in the sentence, *satrapa non potest, nedum tu* — that its illustration in these sentences would not need to be noticed, did the extension of the principle not present us with some cases more difficult.

In the sentences just given, the verbs in the independent clauses, though negative in meaning, are affirmative in form. In the following cases, the negative idea, though present, is still further disguised.

Aug. Hist. Max et Balb. Iul. Cap. 17 :

Haec enumerare difficile est, nedum prosequi consentanea dicendi dignitate.

Liv. IX, 18 :

Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus.

In the case of each of these sentences the central idea is distinctly

negative. In the first passage it is not an affirmative idea that is designed to be expressed by *difficile est*, although the expression is positive in form; the prevailing thought in the mind of the writer is that the facts in question are too complicated to admit of a satisfactory description, and therefore such a description will *not* be attempted. Likewise, in the second passage, the words *referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes* present us with a decidedly negative conception. The sense is: 'I am ashamed to mention those acts; I cannot record them without blushing; they are not to be spoken of now, and they were not endurable then.' Thus, *difficile est* = *non facile est*, and *graves* = *non tolerabiles*.

If the dependent clauses were to be filled out, *facile* and *tolerabiles* would be drawn from *difficile* and *graves* respectively. Cf. Tac. Hist. III, 66 (where the dependent clause happens to be complete): *Fabium illis Valentem, captivum et casibus dubiis reservatum, praegravem fuisse; nedum Primus ac Fuscus et specimen partium Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi occidendi licentiam habeant.*

So, in Suet. Cl. 40:

Multaque talia, etiam privatis deforma, nedum Principi, neque infacundo, neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.

Here *deforma* = *non decora*.

Similar to *satietas teneret* of Livy VII, 40 (quoted above) is *terrere* of Livy XLV, 29:

Assuetis regio imperio tamen novum formam terribilem praebuilt tribunal, summotor aditus, praeco, accensus, insueta omnia oculis auribusque, quae vel socios, nedum hostes victos, terrere possent.

Paulus is here endeavoring to overawe the Macedonians, *to prevent their making any resistance or remonstrance* when he comes to make his proclamation. The negative idea of the passage is not so apparent at first as is that of Livy VII, 40, inasmuch as the object of the preparations is simply implied, not stated. Of a similar nature are the three passages that follow.

Sen. ep. 57:

Non de me nunc tecum loquor, qui multum ab homine tolerabili, nedum a perfecto absum.

Sen. ep. 51 :

Si faceremus quod fecit Hannibal, ut interrupto cursu rerum, omissoque bello, fovendis corporibus operam daremus, nemo non intempestivam desidiam, victori quoque, nedum vincenti, periculosam, merito reprehenderet.

Sen. ep. 91 :

Liberalis noster nunc tristis est, nuntiato incendio quo Lugdunensis colonia exusta est. Movere hic casus quemlibet posset, nedum hominem patriae suae amantissimum.

In the first passage, *qui . . . absum* is an affirmative expression for the thought, 'I am not even a mediocre man, much less am I perfect,' which is obviously a negative conception. In the second passage, the negation lies in the word *periculosam*, which receives its bent from the preceding *intempestivam* and the general idea involved in *nemo non reprehenderet*. The idea contained in the word *periculosam* is hardly more than an expansion of that involved in *intempestivam*. In the third passage, *movere* carries on the thought of *tristis*, which involves a negative idea. It is a case resembling Liv. XLV, 29 (quoted above) rather than Liv. VII, 40 (see above); the negative effect of the *tristitia* is not expressed.

Still further disguised is the negative idea in

Sen. ep. 99 :

At mehercules satis mihi iam videbaris animi habere etiam adversus solida mala, nedum ad istas umbras malorum quibus ingemiscunt homines moris causa.

Quint. XII, 1, 38 :

Ac primum concedant mihi omnes oportet, quod Stoicorum quoque asperimi confitentur, facturum aliquando virum bonum, ut mendacium dicat, et quidem nonnunquam levioribus causis : ut in pueris aegrotantibus utilitatis eorum gratia multa fingimus, multa non facturi promittimus; nedum si ab homine occidendo grassator avertendus sit aut hostis pro salute patriae fallendus.

The negative character of these passages becomes apparent if we examine the context in which they stand and determine the idea which was in each case guiding the writer. Thus, the theme of the letter in which the first passage is found is, 'Do not give way unduly

to grief,' a distinctly negative conception; the sentence itself is virtually, 'I thought that you would not yield before real trials, much less before fancied sorrows.' Likewise, in the case of the passage from Quintilian, the theme is, 'The truth: sometimes we must speak the truth, sometimes we must not.' The latter part of this theme ('sometimes we must not speak the truth') is naturally expressed affirmatively ('sometimes we must tell a lie'), as being under the circumstances the more convenient way; the subject under discussion, however, is *verum*, not *mendacium*.

In these sentences, as in those which were considered before, if the *nedum*-clauses were expanded, it would not be *satis animi habere videaris* and *mendacium dicat* that would be supplied, but expressions containing the opposite of these (virtually) negative ideas.

It sometimes happens, as in the case of the passages last cited, that the negation is not to be found in one word or even in one clause immediately preceding the *nedum*-clause, but must be looked for in the whole surrounding context. In such cases, the negative idea is the prominent one in the writer's mind, though it does not throughout express itself negatively. Such a case is the following.

Sen. N. Q. VII, 9:

Nulla autem tempestas magna perdurat. Procellae quanto plus habent virium, tanto minus temporis. Venti, cum ad summum venerunt, remittuntur omni violentia. Necesse est ista concitatione in exitium sui tendant. Nemo itaque turbinem toto die videt, ne hora quidem. Mira velocitas eius, et mira brevitās est. Praeterea violentius celeriusque in terra circaque eam volvitur; quo celsior, eo solutior laxiorque est, et ob hoc diffinditur. Adice nunc, quod etiamsi in summum pertenderet, ubi sideribus iter est, utique ab eo motu, qui universum trahit, solveretur. Quid enim est illa conversione mundi citatius? Hac omnium ventorum in unum coniecta vis dissiparetur, et terrae solida fortisque compages, nedum particula aeris torti.

The idea which the writer here has in mind is obviously that nothing, not even the strongest force conceivable, *nedum particula aeris torti*, could exist for any length of time in conjunction with such rapidity of movement as is here imagined. The thought is not so much that the winds are scattered as that they cannot continue their blowing.

In the following passage, the negative is suggested by the negative of the sentence preceding the *nedum*-sentence.

Col. VII, 11 :

Pavonum educatio magis urbani patris familiae, quam tetrici rustici curam poscit. Sed ne haec tamen aliena est agricolae captantis undique voluptates acquirere, quibus solitudines ruris eblandiantur. Harum autem decor avium etiam exteros, nedum dominos oblectat.

The negation of the sentence *ne . . . acquirere* may be considered as prevailing through the sentence that follows. Thus, 'Peacock-keeping in the country is under some circumstances not unproductive of pleasure. Even the neighbors do not find it so, much less the owners, who have all the pleasures of possession.'

Even more disguised are the following :

Val. Max. III, 2, 24 :

Ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi, satis multa.

Tac. Ann. XIII, 38 :

Cuicumque mortalium, nedum veteri et provido duci, barbarae astutiae patuissent.

Amm. Marc. XVII, 3, 5 :

Litterisque Augusti monitus ex relatione praefecti, non agere ita perplexo ut videretur parum Florentio credi, rescripsit gratandum esse si provincialis hinc inde vastatus saltem sollemnia praebeat, nedum incrementa, quae nulla supplicia egenis possent hominibus extorquere.

The passage from Tacitus is virtually this: 'The barbarians did not succeed in their attempt, and for a very good reason; their craft was too palpable to impose upon the merest innocent, to say nothing of an experienced general' (*i.e.* 'by such craft as that they couldn't hope to deceive *cuicumque mortalium*, much less *veteri et provido duci*'). Similarly Ammianus: 'We should think ourselves fortunate if from a province wasted from one end to the other we got our regular taxes, without thinking of anything beyond'; *i.e.* 'a province so wasted is hardly in a condition to pay its regular taxes, to say nothing of additional exactions.' So, *ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi, satis multa* = 'a legion wouldn't need any more, much less one soldier.'

The last five or six cases, in each of which the negation pervades the whole passage, are very far removed from our original form, in which a direct negation was expressed in the principal clause. Such forms may have come in through the opening made by the tendency, already observed in classical authors, to omit the verb of the *nedum*-clause and express the negative idea of the independent clause in affirmative form. Thus, it is but a step from *etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus* (Liv. IX, 18), to *ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi, satis multa* (Val. Max. III, 2, 24). In the first case, however, the negative idea is expressed by the virtually negative word *graves*; in the second case, it is expressed by no one word or group of words, but is involved in the tenor of the whole passage.<sup>1</sup>

A word may be said on the tenses with which *nedum* is used. Usually the present is the tense used. The cases of the occurrence of the imperfect are few.<sup>2</sup> Of course the use of *nedum* with the imperfect implies a period when the use of the tenses, as well as the use of *nedum* itself, had become set. In the time of Plautus there could be no occasion for the use of *nedum* with the imperfect. The tense used depends upon the point of view taken, but there seems often to be very little difference between the point of view given by the present and that given by the imperfect.<sup>3</sup>

The combination *nedum ut* occurs six times<sup>4</sup> and *ne ut* once.<sup>5</sup> Such a combination seems to involve a logical brachylogy and to be due to an effort to give a more objective, substantive expression

<sup>1</sup> Here belongs the doubtful passage Mamertin. Grat. Or. XXIII, 4: Tu philosophiam, paulo ante suspectam, ac nedum spoliata honoribus, sed accusatam ac ream . . . liberasti. . . . B., C., V., W., all of one class, give *nedum*; A., the readings of which are to be preferred, gives *non solum*. See Bährens' *Panegyrici Latini*, Praef. Plaut. Epid. IV, 2, 10 (578): *Canis venaticae aliter longe olent, aliter suis, | ne ego meam novisse nequeam*, is corrupt. It can hardly be considered, at any rate, a fully developed *ne (dum)* clause; the first line is purely explanatory of the second and not at all antithetical to it.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Planc. 37; ad Her. IV, 9; Liv. III, 14; XXVI, 26; XXXVII, 41; Sall. Cat. XI, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic. Planc. 37, and Inv. I, 39, 70. Also, Sall. Cat. XI, 8, and Liv. XXVI, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. III, 14; XXX, 21; Tac. Dial. 10; Ap. M. V, 10; IX, 29; Tertull.

<sup>5</sup> Ap. Fl. 16. 9. For Pl. Cas. 922, see p. 118.

[Marc. I, 23.]

to the idea contained in the *nedum*-member. Such forms as *sed fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam existimari vellet non didicisse, quam illa despicere et nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Graecis anteferre* (Cic. de Or. II, 1, 4.), in which the main idea is given the character of a substantive, were of course familiar. Thus the full expression of the thought of Livy, XXX, 21, for instance, would be *adeo ne advenientem quidem gratiam homines benigne accipere, nedum illud sit ut praeteritae satis memores sint*.

To touch in closing upon the most important points of what has been gone over. *Dum* as appended to *ne* has the same force as *dum* appended to *non* (*haud, nec, neque*), *vix*, and *nihil*, and is equivalent to the English 'yet.' *Nedum* means 'in order that not yet,' and there is involved in the constructions with *nedum* a scale of possibilities. Thus, *satrapa non potest, nedum tu possis* means 'in order that the possibility of your doing it may not yet come into consideration, why, a nabob can't do it.' The parallel form where each clause is independent, would be, *satrapa non potest, nondum tu potes*.

*Nedum* was used only in sentences in which the central idea was negative. This negative idea was generally expressed by a word or group of words either negative in form as well as in intent, or immediately suggesting a negative. Sometimes, however, the negative was not clothed in any one word or group of words, but was involved in the general structure of the thought. Such forms as the latter were probably due to the tendency to omit all the words of the dependent clause except the emphatic and contrasted member, combined with the further tendency to express the negative idea of the independent clause by affirmative words. They are rare and confined to late authors. Of the classical authors, Livy, who is the freest in his use of the word, never goes beyond the first step of using expressions positive in form but negative in intent.





## SOME USES OF *NEQUE* (*NEC*) IN LATIN.

BY J. B. GREENOUGH.

THERE are several uses of *neque* or *nec* in Latin in which the force of the connective seems entirely to vanish, leaving only the negative force of the *ne*. This phenomenon has been felt to be so surprising that Müller (Sup. ad Fest. p. 387) endeavored to distinguish two different words in this form, one of which was compounded with another particle than *que*. But it is an old maxim, *causae non praeter necessitatem multiplicandae*. So that if any reasonable theory can account for the usage, the supposition of two words confused in one form is to be excluded.

A striking and suggestive example is found in Livy, I, 25, 10, *qui nec procul erat*. While examining this passage, I was struck with the similarity of this use of *nec* to that of the English *neither* in some very common forms of expression.

A familiar jibe on the multitude of volunteer officers in our late war ran: 'I met thirteen brigadiers in passing one block, and it wasn't much of a day for brigadiers either.' The word *either* is one of the comparative words like *other*, *whether*, etc., which must go in pairs either in form or at least in thought, and can evidently only be used when the two correlative or corresponding branches are of the same nature. An *either . . . nor* or a *neither . . . or* is logically impossible. It is clear therefore that in all cases where *not . . . either* or *neither* is used in the second branch, a negative must exist, or at least have once existed, concealed somewhere in the first one. This negative, however, is often quite difficult to formulate. But its existence is made quite plain by a logical examination of the street boys' altercation, 'You're making faces at me' — 'I aint neither' — 'You be too.' Here the use of *too* in the last reply shows clearly that the *neither* implies another negative predicate preceding. This is then made affirmative and reasserted as such along with the expressed one by denying the negative of both. The *ne* in *neither* is of course only an illogical doubling. Another case, the easiest one

in which to discover the hidden negative implied by a *neither*, is where one person makes an affirmative statement, which is paralleled by a second with a negative statement of precisely the same significance, as : 'I am somewhat feeble to-day.' — 'I don't feel very strong either.' Here, although the first speaker makes an affirmative predication, yet it is turned in the mind of the second into an equivalent negative, and continued as such, so that the result is a pair of negatives ; ' (then neither are you very strong) nor am I very strong.' A slightly more difficult case is presented in, 'I reached to the top of the car, and I am not a tall man either.' But here it is plain that though the first statement is affirmative in form, it is really negative in purport, so that it represents something like, 'Neither am I a tall man, nor was the car any higher than I.' The case of the brigadiers is somewhat more difficult to seize, for in this case it is not a negative which is to be expressed, but an affirmative ; *i.e.* that there were a great many brigadiers in general. But this is really not said at all, but left to inference. This is best seen by changing the whole to the affirmative form, 'I saw plenty of brigadiers, and it was a poor day for them too' (hence there must be a great many about). The negative of all this would be, '*Neither* was there any lack of them, *nor* was it a good day for them' (hence they must be many). And it is evident that the double statement begins in the first (affirmative) form, but is changed in the mind of the speaker himself to the second (negative), just as in the example 'I am somewhat feeble,' etc., the same change is made by the second speaker. In the case of the street-boys' altercation the statement negatived is more vague, but may be considered as affecting the truthfulness of the first speaker, as, 'What you say is not true, nor was I making faces.' — 'Both what I say is true, and you were making faces.' Of course it is not maintained that all this is present to the mind of the speaker in these cases, but only that such is the origin of the expressions, and such their logical nature when examined.

Now this same principle of the concealed negative naturally suggests itself as an explanation of these peculiar uses of *nec* in Latin. The Latin word is not so clearly a co-ordinating particle as the English, because it lacks the original comparative meaning which the formative element in the particles *either*, *neither*, (*τερος*) must have had. But the uses are parallel and will be found to fit in some

cases exactly. In many of the cases the proposition to which the *nec* is appended is obviously negative. The whole of the Livy passage is as follows: *Prius itaque quam alter qui nec procul aberat consequi posset et alterum Curiatium conficit* (I, 25, 10). Here a negative is plainly implied in *prius quam posset*. The logical idea is, 'The other could neither arrive in time, nor was he (as perhaps one might infer from that fact) far off.' The conclusion, not expressed, is that Horatius was very quick about despatching his antagonist. It is to be noticed that in many of the parallel cases in English the *neither* clause is in like manner used to contradict a supposed natural inference from the first statement. As, for instance, in the case of the brigadiers one might infer that the day in question was a particularly favorable day, and in the case of the car, that the speaker was a tall man. It is the negating of such inferences that gives its special force to the form of expression. A case very nearly like this is found in Plaut. *Cist.* IV, 2, 22:

Ille nunc laetus est . . . qui illam habet;  
Quae neque illa illi quidquam usuist; mihi esse potest.

*The man is delighted who has it (the casket), a thing which isn't of any use to him either, and may be to me.*

Here the negative idea, which is only implied, is that the man's joy is unreasonable. The examples from the laws of the Twelve Tables are equally plain:

*Si intestato moritur cui suus heres nec escit adgnatus proximus familiam habeto, si adgnatus nec escit gentiles familiam habento* (Wordsworth, p. 256). Here the negative force of *intestato* is obvious. 'If a man dies, not leaving a will, who hasn't any heir either (any more than a will), then, etc.' 'If there isn't any next of kin either, then, etc.' The second is:

*Si furiosus escit* (and so not capable of taking care of himself) *adgnatum gentiliūque in eo pecuniaque eius potestas esto . . . ast ei custos nec escit* (i.e. if he is without a guardian of his kin as well as incapable) (Wordsworth, 257).

In like manner might also be analyzed the phrase '*res nec mancipi*.' The object intended by this phrase is a *res* (and so not without value), but not of the kind conveyed by the public and formal act of *mancipatio*, neither worthless, that is, nor (on the other hand) of the

nature of realty. The compound *negotium* is probably not very different from *nec procul*, the case first referred to. One might say, *aliquid feci quod nec facile erat* with the same feeling as in *nec procul*. So *quod nec otium* (which wasn't an easy time either) might be used with hardly any difference in meaning. We may compare Theodore Woolsey's summary of Sir Henry Maine's view of the significance of the Roman division of property: "The most probable explanation is that these articles were especially honored which were first known to each community. Other articles were placed on a lower standing because the knowledge of their value did not exist until after the classification was made. The Romans in this spirit divided all property into *res Mancipi* and *res nec Mancipi*. . . ." *Introd. to Maine's Ancient Law*, p. lii. See also *Maine's Ancient Law*, Chap. VIII (p. 269, Am. ed.), where the subject is treated more in detail.

The phrases *nec opinans*, *nec opinus*, are of the same kind as the preceding, but their composition is a little more transparent. A passage in *Bell. Alex.* 63 (where we have *neque*), is as follows:

Auxilia regis in id castellum Marcelli, quod proximum erat regis castris neque opinantibus omnibus . . . impetum fecerunt.

*And when all were unsuspecting too; or when nobody was expecting it either.*

In *Bell. Alex.* 75, we have *commotus neque opinans imparatusque*, where the two connectives may be regarded as correlative. But in *Bell. Afr.* 66, *equitibus praemissis neque opinantes insidiatores . . . concidit*, the word cannot be supposed to be other than a mere negative, as it became in the other words of this class. For another example, I may cite *ipsum accipiter necopinum rapit*, *Phaedr.* I, 9. (The sparrow) *himself* (while censuring the hare captured by the eagle) *was carried off by the hawk, and when not expecting it either.* He fared no better than the hare, and it was entirely unexpected too. It is well perhaps to compare *ad illum modum subtilum os esse mi hodie neque id perspicere quivi*. 'And I didn't see through it either,' *Plaut. Capt.* 783 (IV, 2, 3).

In regard to *neglego*, the analysis is not so easy. It may well have been an augural word, or have referred, like *re-ligio*, to divine manifestations or religious matters. The expression *deos neglegere* is a common one, and seems more likely to have attached itself to the

original meaning of the word than to have been developed later. Hence we may imagine an expression like *portento monitus est nec lexit*. *He was warned, and didn't regard it either*. It is not necessary to suppose a preceding negative proposition, though I am inclined to think there was one, as in the other cases, like, 'He was neither without a warning, nor (as you would suppose from the fact that it was given) did he regard it.' Such an expression would naturally be shortened to '*portento monitus, neglexit*,' and we have the word fully formed.

The phrase *nec recte dicere (loqui)* is one of the most difficult. In view of the meaning of the expression, equivalent to *maledicere*, we may consider it a euphemistic way of saying something not agreeable to think of. We may compare such an expression as: 'The man spoke out, and not very gently either;' 'He expressed his views, and pretty forcibly too.' Under this view, *dis nec recte dicis* would have originally meant, 'You do not refrain from expressing your feelings towards the gods, and not in the way you should either.'

The passages in which *nec recte* occurs are

*Asinaria*, I, 3, 3 :

Nec recte quae tu in nos dicis aurum atque argentum merumst.

*Asinaria*, II, 4, 65 :

Malo hercle iam magno tuo, nunc isti nec recte dicis :

*Bacchides*, I, 2, 11 :

Mali sunt homines qui bonis dicunt male.

Tu dis nec recte dicis ; non aequom facis.

*Mostellaria*, I, 3, 83 :

Nec recte si illi dixeris iam ecastor vapulabis.

*Poenulus*, III, 1, 13 :

Si nec recte dicis nobis dives de summo loco,

Divitem audacter solemus mactare infortunio.

*Pseudolus*, IV, 6, 23 :

Nam quanti refert ei nec recte dicere?

To these may be added Turpilius, 24 (Ribbeck, Sc. Po. Frag. II, p. 88) :

Nec recte dici mihi quae iam dudum audio.

A somewhat different use of *nec* is found in a passage in Livy, III, 52, 9, admitting however a similar analysis :

Ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium, cum praesertim nec nos temperemus imperiis.

*Much less will they now, etc., bear the loss, especially when we do not moderate our commands either* (any more than they exercise patience).

The formula found in Virg. *Ecl.* 9, 6 (and perhaps also a similar one in Plin. *Ep.* II, 2, 3, cf. also Ciris 237 below), *Quod nec vertat bene*, depends upon the same denial of a natural inference. Moeris complains of his master's having been turned out of his possessions by an intruder, and continues :

Nunc victi tristes quoniam fors omnia versat,  
Hos illi — quod nec vertat bene — mittimus haedos.

The natural inference from the fact of the sending is that the tribute went with a good will, and this inference is denied, whereby the contrast between the gift and the feeling is more strongly brought out. It is like, 'I subscribed ten dollars for foreign missions, and I don't like the commissioners either'; *i.e.* 'I neither on the one hand refused to subscribe, nor on the other (as one might suppose) do I like the managers.'

Another difficult example is :

Ille . . .  
Quem pater ipse deum sceptri donavit honore  
Cui Parcae tribuere nec ullo vulnere laedi. *Ciris*, 268 *seq.*

If this were stated without the relatives, we might well say in English in poetry : 'The father of the gods himself has set him on the throne, nor (by the decree of the Fates) can he be injured by any wound.' But the implied idea to which the *nor* in English corresponds is not easy to formulate. There are evidently two qualities of different kinds ascribed to the hero, — one official, and the other personal. The first attribute is supreme power established by Jove himself, which might imply that he has no superior politically but Jove, to which is added that he is personally invulnerable. If this is the true feeling of the passage, the *nec* would justify itself as nearly equivalent to the often-cited *not . . . either*. The form was undoubtedly

used for metrical reasons, but its use is justified by the considerations above set forth.

In *Ecl.* 3, 102 :

Hi(s) certe neque amor causa est, vix ossibus haerent,

the texts waver between *hi* and *his*, but in either case there is a force in the *neque* like *not . . . either*. If we read *his*, the mention of the word emphatically implies some disaster similar to the one mentioned in the preceding lines, so that a *neque* may be used precisely as it may be if we read *hi*, and make the *neque* clause parenthetical.

The three cases, *nec vertat* (Virg. *Ecl.* 9, 6), *nec dii sinant* (Plin. *Ep.* II, 2, 3), and *nec sinit* (*Ciris* 237), point perhaps to a religious usage with which we may compare the inexplicable case in Cato, *R. R.*, CXLI, 4, *siquid tibi neque satisfactum est*. It is difficult to say, however, whether the plainer cases throw light on the less plain, or whether the latter casts some uncertainty on the former.

Another usage which shows indications of its true character is that of *neque dum* instead of *nondum*.

The following cases may be cited :

Nihil de Saguntinis — necdum enim erant socii vestri. Liv. XXI, 18, 8.

This case is best taken as representing *neque enim* in the usual formula, but we have also :

Non incunabula haec tibi Caesar et rudimenta, cum puer admodum Parthica lauro gloriam patris augeres nomenque Germanici iam tum mererere . . . ? Et necdum imperator, necdum dei filius eras. Pl. *Pan.* 14.

*And you were not yet an emperor either. —*

and

Non omnia eius modi ut is optime te laudasse videatur qui narraverit fidelissime? Quo fit ut prope in immensum diffundatur oratio mea et necdum de biennio loquor. Pl. *Pan.* 56, 2.

*And I do not yet speak of the two years either.*

These cases agree with the English formula, and evidently have a force somewhat different from the usual *nondum*.

The few but well-established cases of *sed nec (neque)* correspond pretty nearly to a use of *either* in English somewhat different from any I have cited, where the word is used in a corrective sense, as,



'It is a very cold day; but (looking at the thermometer, say) not so very cold either, — only 21°.' This use resembles closely the street boys, 'I ain't neither,' and means, 'No, my statement was not correct, nor is it a very cold day.'

In an example from Cicero (*in Fam.* I, 8, 3), *sed* has been stricken out by later editors, but there seems no good reason why it should not stand:

Quae enim proposita fuerant nobis . . . ea sublata tota sunt (sed) nec mihi magis quam omnibus.

Cicero first says he has been deprived of the aims of his life, and then says, 'but not I, *either*, more than everybody else,' with apparently the same force as that of the English corrective expression cited. In later writers the combination is freely allowed to stand, as in Quint. I, 5, 18:

Praeterea quae fiunt spatio (*i.e.* licenses in quantity) extra carmen non deprehendas: sed nec in carmine vitia ducenda sunt.

*You can't detect them outside of verse; but then neither in verse are they to be considered as faulty.*

The employment of *neque* in the sense of *not even* is not uncommon in all periods of the language. In English it is to be noticed that *not even* gives an intimation that something else is also still more strongly negated. Hence we may assume a suppressed negative branch vaguely thought of as preceding; *e.g.* *quia maior pars putationis per id tempus administratur quo vitis neque folium notabile gerit* (Columella III, 21, 7); *i.e.* not even a noticeable leaf (to say nothing of fruit, about the quality of which the author is really speaking).

. . . Nec nunc cum me vocat ultro

Accedam,

Hor. *Sat.* II, 3, 262.

*Not even now, i.e. not now either any more than before.*

Non quanto magis a te reprimebatur (gaudium) exarsimus? Non contumacia Caesar, sed ut in tua potestate est an gaudeamus, ita in quantum nec in nostra. Plin. *Paneg.* 73.

*Though it lies in your power to decide whether we shall rejoice (by giving us occasion or not), but to decide to what degree is not even in ours (much less in yours).*

Here it is implied that Caesar cannot limit the degree of rejoicing after it is once started, and it is impossible even for themselves as well.

An example in *Ciris*, 237 *seq.* seems to be of the same kind :

Hei mihi ne furor ille tuos invaserit artus  
 Ille Arabae Myrrhae quondam qui cepit ocellos  
 Ut scelere infando (quod nec sinit Adrastea)  
 Laedere utrumque uno studeas errore parentem

Here the nurse Cyme suspects an incestuous passion like that of Myrrha on the part of her charge, a crime, she says, which not even the goddess, whose mission is to humble the proud (to execute the *φθόνος θεῶν*), permits (or would, or may, as we read *sinit* or *sinat*). In carrying out her mission, she might, as often had happened, lead on the unfortunate to the commission of crime, as in the tragedies, but *this crime* even she does not allow.

So again in the following :

Haec mihi sola excusatio vera; ceterae falsae videbuntur. Non sum auditurus 'non eram Romae' vel 'occupator eram.' Illud enim nec di sinant ut 'infirmior.' Pl. *Ep.* II, 2, 3.

Here Pliny excludes one kind of excuses which he himself will not admit, and continues '(I mention these excuses), for I pray that even the gods may not permit the other excuse,' implying that he himself would not permit it (of course if it were in his power to prevent sickness).

Thus far I have treated of cases in which the force of the connective was still felt, and consequently its meaning can be traced in the connection in which the word is used. But there are some cases in which *nec* has become either wholly or partially compounded with some word which, so far as appears on the surface, it simply serves to negative. In these of course we can hardly expect to trace with certainty the development of the usage. But the obvious analysis of those I have already given makes it extremely probable that in these also originally *nec* had the same force. The earliest use of one of these appears in Festus (M. 162) from the Twelve Tables: '*Si adorat furto, quod nec manifestum erit.*' It seems impossible that this should differ from '*nec procul*' and '*neque usui*' first above cited, except that we have no direct means of showing that a negative

precedes. We must here depend upon theory. But if the cases are borne in mind in which the *nec*-clause denies an inference which one might draw from the preceding, as in *qui nec procul*, it seems possible to arrive at an analysis, and formulate a negative proposition. The complaint is made for a theft, which is not (as you might perhaps naturally suppose from the fact that it is a *furtum* at all) one directly proved either. The whole double proposition would be : One sues for what is neither an action not punishable by law nor, on the other hand, a theft caught in the act (perhaps originally the only kind that was punished). It is to be noticed that ancient criminal law did not, like English law, presume a man to be innocent till proved to be guilty (cf. the proceedings in the *provocatio*), so that the mention of *furtum* leads to the inference that the case is one proved by direct evidence ; otherwise there would be no crime. And it is this inference that is negatived by the *nec*. We may compare here for the ancient mode of thought Maine's *Ancient Law*, Chap. X, p. 365, 1st Am. ed. :

"Ancient law furnishes other proofs that the earliest administrators of justice simulated the probable acts of persons engaged in a private quarrel. In settling the damages to be awarded, they took as their guide the measure of vengeance likely to be exacted by an aggrieved person under the circumstances of the case. This is the true explanation of the very different penalties imposed by ancient law on offenders caught in the act, or soon after it, and on offenders detected after considerable delay. Some strange exemplifications of this peculiarity are supplied by the old Roman law of theft. . . . The ancient lawgiver doubtless considered that the injured proprietor, if left to himself, would inflict a very different punishment when his blood was hot from that with which he would be satisfied when the thief was detected after a considerable interval ; and to this calculation the legal scale of penalties was adjusted. The principle is precisely the same as that followed in the Anglo-Saxon and other Germanic codes, where they suffer a thief chased down and caught with the booty to be hanged or decapitated on the spot, while they exact the full penalties of homicide from anybody who kills him after the pursuit is intermitted." Cf. *nec mancipi* above.

Comparing this view with the similar division of property, we may naturally suppose that originally the only *furtum* was that which was

afterwards distinguished as *manifestum*, and that the distinction arose with the necessity of recognizing another kind also. The development of the idea might be: 'This is a *furtum*, but then it isn't *manifestum* as a *furtum* naturally would be,' giving us a process of thought like that in some of the other cases. Compare the similar English law in cases of adultery.

The form *negritu* given by Festus as equivalent to *aegritudo*, has no context from which we can get any analysis, but it is doubtless of the same kind as the others, coming nearest to *nec recte*. It is said by Festus to be an augural word, and this has a certain agreement with some of the other uses.

A use in two old religious formulae given by Cato seems to defy analysis (examples below). It is, so far as I can see, impossible to frame any rendering in which an *either* or a *nor* should be natural in English. It is possible, however, to make a form with *but not*. 'If these sacrifices have been made (implied in *illis*), but anything therein has not been properly performed, then, etc.' This is not quite satisfactory, but we can hardly suppose when this example is compared with the others that *neque* was originally felt merely as *non*. The formula must be very old, and something may well have been lost, or the true nature of the whole expression may not be evident to us.

Si minus in omnis litabit sic verba concipito: Mars pater siquid tibi in illis suovetaurilibus lactentibus neque satisfactum est te hisce suovetaurilibus piaculo.

Si de uno duobusve dubitavit sic verba concipito; Mars pater quod tibi illoc porco neque satisfactum est te hoc porco piaculo. Cat. *R. R.* CXLI, 4.

There remains one passage in *Most.* III, 1, 31. The slave Tranio seeing discovery of one of his tricks imminent, is much agitated, and moves off. His master says, *Quo te agis?* Tranio replies, *Nec quoquam abeo*. This seems at first sight a mere 'I am not going away anywhere.' But if the situation is carefully considered, it is seen to mean, 'Why! I'm not going off. You're mistaken. You misinterpret my action.' This is somewhat analogous to the street-boys' 'I aint neither,' which, as we have seen, implies a contradiction of an unexpressed statement. So that here also the *nec* is not a mere negative, but a connective as well. The use of *nec* in the form *necne*

in double questions seems to belong under the same head. Thus : *Quaesivit utrum viveret pater, necne ; i.e.* whether his father was alive, or whether that was not true, and he wasn't alive either (in fact). With this also may be compared the street-boys' altercation given above.

There are several examples in Cicero *de Legibus* like those in the Twelve Tables, but as they are consciously imitated from old laws, we need not trouble ourselves with them.

A use of *nec* is common from Cicero on, which is well established, and may throw some light on the other usages, inasmuch as it corresponds pretty closely to the same English *neither*.

Examples are :

Quo mortuo, nec ita multo post, in Galliam proficiscitur. Cic. *pro Quinct.* 4, 15.

*And not very long after either.*

De Quinto frater nuntii nobis tristes nec varii venerant. *Ad Att.* 3, 17.  
*Melancholy, and with no variation either* (and all alike too).

The extreme antiquity of these uses is shown by the fact that they are common also to Oscan and Umbrian. In both these languages, the forms *nep neip* are found in the sense of *ne* and *non* precisely as *neque* or *nec* is used in Latin. But they are also used in the other senses of *neque* (*neither, nor, and not*).

In Umbrian they are the only negatives thus far found. In Oscan they share the field with *nei, ne*. These dialectic forms show that the *c* stands for *qu* and not for *ce*, as has sometimes been supposed. They do not necessarily perhaps prove that *nec* may not stand for *nequi*, but they make it extremely unlikely, on account of the general preservation of long vowels in these languages as well as in Latin. It seems almost impossible, both from its form and its meaning, that *nec* should be anything else than a shortened *neque*, and *neip* anything but a shortened *neipe* (cf. *quippe*).

The antiquity of the construction does not militate against the view herein expressed ; it only moves the process set forth a few centuries farther back, and puts the formation of such expressions as *nec manifestum* and *nec mancipi* into a more primitive civilization, such as would be expected to produce them.

The following are illustrations of the use of *nep* (*neip*) in Oscan :

Eisel teref *nep* Abellanos *nep* Novlanos pidum trībarakattīns (in eo territorio neque Abellani neque Nolani quidquam aedificaverint.) Zvetaieff, No. 136, 45.

Svai *neip* dadid lamatir (si nec reddit veneat (?) ). Ibid. 129, 4.

*Neip* mais pomtis actud (neve magis quinquies agito). Ibid. 231, 15.

*Neip* putiād (ne possit). Ibid. 129, 6.

The antiquity of the merely negative usage of *nec* and its occurrence in religious and legal phraseology might naturally lead one to agree with Sinnius Capito (as quoted in Festus, M. 162) : *Cum si diligentius inspicatur, ut facit Sinnius Capito, intellegi possit eam (nec) positum ab antiquis pro non, ut in XII est* (with examples). The one example that gives no clue to its origin is of the very oldest. And the analysis of some of the other old ones is of course only conjectural.

But, on the other hand, the uses appear in so many forms, and crop out at so many periods of the language, that it seems impossible that they should be merely a survival of an ancient use. Then again, many of the uses are capable of a natural analysis, and in very few of them is *nec* exactly equivalent to *non*. In almost all there is a suggestion of a something besides the mere negative, as has been illustrated in the treatment of the examples. The word *neque*, at any rate, could never in Latin have meant originally anything but *and not*, whatever it came to mean later ; and the old case from Cato gives *neque*. Both forms, as we have seen, continued to contain a negative and a connective throughout the existence of the Latin language. If it had meant anything different from this to Livy or Virgil, how should it happen that they did not use it oftener? The most probable supposition is that in all the accidental cases, and in many of the stereotyped ones, it was used to express a shade of meaning something like the English *neither*, and that it was felt to express that shade. It is also probable that this shade of meaning (not merely the word) passed out of literary use, except in the stereotyped expressions, and that in these the meaning was hardly, and often not at all, felt, although originally present. But the meaning continued in popular use like the street-boys' 'neither,' and occasionally came to the surface in various authors and various forms of expression, as we have seen.



# THE PARTICIPIAL CONSTRUCTION WITH *τυγχάνειν* AND *κυρεῖν*.<sup>1</sup>

BY J. R. WHEELER.

THE following combinations of the verbs *τυγχάνειν* and *κυρεῖν*, as found in the earlier Greek writers, may be thus classified:—

α' The present tense of the finite verb with the present participle.

β'	"	imperfect	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
γ'	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	perfect	"
δ'	"	aorist	"	"	"	"	"	"	present	"
ε'	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	aorist	"
ς'	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	perfect	"
ζ'	"	present	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
η'	"	imperfect	"	"	"	"	"	"	aorist	"
θ'	"	present	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
ι'	"	perfect	"	"	"	"	"	"	present	"

(1) The infinitive present with the present participle.

(2)	"	"	aorist	"	"	"	"
(3)	"	"	"	"	"	aorist	"
(4)	"	"	"	"	"	perfect	"
(5)	"	"	present	"	"	"	"
(6)	"	participle	aorist	"	"	present	"
(7)	"	"	"	"	"	perfect	"

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a completion of the work to which allusion is made in the note at § 146 of the last edition of Goodwin's "Moods and Tenses." The views which Professor Goodwin there expresses in regard to the use of the verb *τυγχάνειν* with the participle will, I hope, be somewhat strengthened by the additional examples which can now be cited. I have tried to make the collection of examples as complete as possible, but the range of the literature from which they have been drawn is wide, and there is, of course, a chance that some few have escaped me. Professor F. D. Allen gave me many useful suggestions, and to Professor Gildersleeve I am indebted for calling my attention to the article by Weiske cited below. Dr. Morris H. Morgan kindly sent me the references to Andocides.



EXAMPLES.<sup>1</sup>

## τυγχάνειν.

## Class α'

AESCHINES. 1, 49 | 128 | 3, 5 | AESCHYLUS. Choe. 688 | ANDOCIDES. 1, 140 | 2, 4 | 24 | 26 | 3, 40 | [4], 6 | ARISTOPHANES. 2. 336 | El. 690 | O. 762 | 790 | 793 | 0. 29 | Ek. 336 | Π. 35 | Fragg. 103 | 390 | A. 378 | Ek. 29 | Π. 1037 | 1039 | A. 1030 | N. 1135 | B. 598 | C. I. A. 1, 37. *fragg. f, g. vs. 16* | *frag. p. vs. 41* | C. I. A. II, 1. 17. A. vs. 28 | vs. 31<sup>2</sup> | 50. vs. 8 | 73. vs. 17 | 76 vs. 14 | 97. vs. 6 | 309. vs. 30 | 438. vs. 3 | DEMOSTHENES. 19, 193 | 24, 4 | [42], 25 | [47] 79 | 52, 5 | 52, 9 | 52, 9 | [58], 59 | [61], 48 | [Προοίμια] Γ, p. 1420 | I, p. 1425 | Ks, p. 1436 | A Δ, p. 1444 | EUPOLIS. Frag. 37 | EURIPIDES. Rhcs. 653 | Med. 608 | Hipp. 281 | Supp. 28 | 736 | Troad. 1108 | Ion. 1382 | And. 76 | 144 | 368 | 888 | 1054 | Elec. 785 | Hec. 665 | 963 | Phoen. 106 | I. T. 607 | 616 | 630 | I. A. 1139 | Fragg. 183 | 233 | 315 | 739 | 832 | GORGAS. Παλαμήδης, 2 | HERODOTUS. 1, 8, 11 | 1, 35, 16 | 1, 38, 8 | 1, 47, 5 | 1, 59, 11 | 1, 59, 12 | 1, 68, 8 | 1, 88, 7 | 1, 202, 27 | 2, 58, 3 | 2, 155, 11 | 2, 168, 5 | 3, 69, 14 | 3, 84, 12 | 3, 118, 7 | 3, 122, 23 | 4, 41, 7 | 4, 127, 10 | 5, 22, 4 | 5, 30, 21 | 6, 74, 13 | 7, 26, 13 | 7, 38, 5 | 7, 38, 9 | 7, 58, 11 | 7, 109, 12 | 8, 68 (α), 5 | 8, 75, 12 | 8, 142, 24 | 9, 12, 10 | 9, 42, 18 | 9, 64, 6 | 9, 76, 18 | 9, 76, 20 | 9, 98, 14 | 9, 98, 20 | 9, 111, 17 | HYPERIDES. Frag. 25. | ISAEUS. 1, 41 | 3, 19 | 4, 1 | 7, 20 | 8, 5 | 45 | ISOCRATES. 1, 31 | 45 | 2, 3 | 40 | 54 | 3, 5 | 37 | 40 | 43 | 53 | 4, 4 | 6 | 12 | 28 | 36 | 76 | 176 | 184 | 187 | 5, 12 | 29 | 70 | 113 | 115 | 127 | 130 | 6, 27 | 60 | 61 | 69 | 102 | 110 | 7, 39 | 46 | 61 | 73 | 8, 9 | 15 | 17 | 24 | 26 | 32 | 38 | 101 | 141 | 143 | 9, 41 | 49 | 80 | 81 | 10, 6 | 11, 47 | 12, 6 | 7 | 15 | 29 | 31 | 33 | 34 | 56 | 66 | 88 | 108 | 152 | 159 | 172 | 175 | 204 | 205 | 206 | 206 | 216 | 219 | 242 | 248 | 13, 4 | 14, 37 | 51 | 15, 4 | 8 | 12 | 14 | 48 | 81 | 89 | 138 | 144 | 183 | 185 | 196 | 239 | 253 | 260 | 271 | 281 | 302 | 16, 48 | 17, 41 | 18, 28 | 20, 2 | 11 | 21, 1 | 9 | Epistolae. 1, 5 | 10 | 2, 20 | 4, 12 | 6, 11 | 8, 8 | LYCURGUS. in Leocr. 129 | LYSIAS. 1, 16 | 7, 18 | 29 | 12, 14 | 13, 1 | 14, 1 | 16, 1 | 20, 1 | 22, 15 | 19 | 23, 4 | 24, 24 | 29, 1 | Frag. 75, 3 | PHERECRATES. Frag. 158 | PLATO. Rep. 333 e | 337 b | 341 a | 344 c | 351 a | 354 c | 357 a | 368 d | 379 a | 392 d | 412 d | 428 a | 435 a | 443 e | 444 c | 444 c | 477 b | 517 b | 518 e |

<sup>1</sup> Italicized references show that the finite verb appears in another mood than the indicative. The citations do not include examples in which the participle is to be supplied, and where more than one participle is appended to the same finite verb only one example is reckoned, if the participles are identical in tense. If, however, they are of different tenses, as many examples are reckoned as there are participles. The classification of participles is made according to *form*, and not according to meaning; thus *εἰδώς* is treated as a perfect, *ἤκων* as a present. References to the *poetae scenici* are according to the lines of Dindorf's edition, but the fragments are cited after Nauck and Kock. The lines in the references to Herodotus are those of Stein's school edition.

<sup>2</sup> On the plural subject with singular verb in this example cf. Rangabé, *Antiquités helléniques*, p. 378.

525 b | 567 b | 595 b | 597 a | Apol. 18 d | 29 a | 29 b | 31 a | 38 a | 40 c | Euthyphr.  
2 a | 4 a | 4 e | 5 d | 5 e | 5 e | 6 d | 8 a | 12 d | 13 d | 14 e | 14 e | 14 e | Phaed.  
58 d | 64 a | 65 d | 68 b | 70 e | 71 e | 72 e | 78 c | 86 c | 91 b | 94 c | 102 c | 106 e |  
108 b | 111 c | 111 e | 112 e | 113 e | Crito. 47 b | 49 b | Crat. 384 b | 409 e | 422 b |  
424 b | 434 d | 435 d | Sophist. 217 e | 225 d | 227 a | 230 d | 235 a | 235 d | 238 a |  
258 d | Polit. 259 b | 260 c | 268 c | 285 a | 300 d | Theat. 145 e | 148 d | 151 e |  
160 e | 177 b | 198 c | Parmen. 138 e | 142 b | 145 c | 145 e | 155 e | Phileb. 12 e |  
12 e | 15 e | 17 b | 47 b | Symp. 193 c | 195 a | 205 e | 206 b | 218 d | Phaedr.  
231 a | 233 c | 238 d | 239 b | 248 c | 252 c | 259 b | 262 e | 263 c | 264 a | 268 d |  
271 c | 273 c | 273 d | 273 d | Alcib. 106 e | 109 c | 113 d | 113 e | 116 d | 122 b |  
133 b | 133 b | Alcib. II. 138 b | 139 c | 141 a | 142 d | 143 b | 146 a | 148 a |  
148 d | 149 e | 150 e | Hipparch. 232 c | Theag. 121 a | 123 c | 125 e | 128 b |  
Charm. 154 a | 154 d | 156 a | 160 c | 161 b | 166 a | 166 b | 167 e | 171 a | Laches.  
180 e | 182 e | 185 a | 185 d | 189 e | 190 b | 192 a | Lysis. 206 d | 211 d | 214 a |  
221 b | 221 e | 222 b | Euthyd. 273 d | 275 a | 279 a | 282 e | 290 a | 293 b | 293 d |  
306 a | Protag. 313 c | 315 e | 318 a | 318 b | 334 c | Gorgias. 449 d | 450 b | 451 a |  
451 a | 451 b | 451 d | 455 c | 458 a | 459 d | 463 e | 468 d | 468 d | 469 b | 475 e |  
478 e | 480 c | 481 c | 493 a | 513 d | 513 e | 524 b | Menon. 72 c | 74 c | 74 d |  
75 b | 86 b | 92 d | 93 a | Hipp. Maj. 289 c | 293 e | 295 e | 298 d | 299 c | 301 a |  
304 d | Ion. 541 a | 541 a | Menex. 235 e | 237 c | 238 c | Clitoph. 406 a | Timaeus.  
37 d | 61 b | 89 e | Critias 111 a | Legg. 629 c | 642 b | 662 d | 706 a | 732 a |  
741 d | 751 a | 856 d | 859 d | 870 a | 889 a | 890 d | 932 b | 933 c | 933 c | 933 d |  
954 b | 962 b | 962 e | 965 b | Epinomis. 974 a | Epistolae. 310 d | 311 c | 321 b |  
350 a | 357 b | 359 d | 1 e' | 1 e' | Sisyph. 391 c | Eryx. 393 b | 393 b | 394 b | 394 c |  
394 c | 394 d | 394 d | 396 d | 396 e | 398 d | 398 d | 398 e | 399 e | 400 e | 401 b |  
402 d | 403 b | 403 c | 403 d | 405 d | 405 e | 405 e | 405 e | 405 e | 406 a | 406 a |  
SIMONIDES AMORG. Frag. 7, vs. 109 | SOPHOCLES. O.R. 757 | O.C. 1481 | 1490  
Ant. 1186 | El. 794 | 1053 | 1055 | 586 | Tr. 625 | THUCYDIDES. 3, 30, 2 | 108, 2 |  
5, 98, 1 | 6, 88, 2 | XENOPHON. Anab. 1, 9, 20 | 2, 1, 8 | 4, 3, 11 | 5, 1, 4 | 6, 28 |  
Menorab. 1, 2, 59 | 6, 8 | 2, 5, 4 | 6, 5 | Cyropaed. 1, 4, 3 | 1, 13 | 2, 4, 32 | 3, 1,  
12 | 6, 1, 6 | 7, 5, 69 | 8, 3, 4 | 8, 4, 36 | Hell. 3, 1, 5 | 3, 3, 2 | 4, 5, 11 | Oec. 8, 2 |  
11, 14 | 11, 16 | 15, 13 | 19, 11 | 19, 12 | Conv. 2, 9 | Hiero. 7, 2 | 8, 6 | 11, 8 |  
Hipparch. 4, 14 |

**Class β'**

AESCHINES. 1, 168 | 2, 22 | [ALCIDAMAS]. Odysseus. 5 | ANTIPHON. 5, 20 |  
5, 37 | 6, 12 | ARISTOPHANES. Σ. 1429 | Ek. 407 | DEMOSTHENES 18, 174 | 30,  
7 | 32, 16 | 40, 27 | 45, 75 | 50, 60 | 53, 9 | 54, 20 | [58], 68 | EURIPIDES. Hipp.  
494 | Bacch. 215 | 1132 | Hec. 767 | Phoen. 1343 | Or. 866 | Frag. 1117, vs. 64 |  
GORGAS. Παλαμήδης, 16 | HERODOTUS. 1, 29, 5 | 2, 151, 1 | 5, 30, 5 | 5, 30, 9 |  
5, 51, 7 | 6, 9, 11 | 28, 11 | 61, 12 | 7, 61, 16 | 205, 11 | 225, 14 | 8, 87, 9 | 96, 2 |  
137, 25 | 144, 18 | 9, 63, 1 | 9, 107, 21 | ISAEUS. 1, 39 | 4, 18 | 5, 20 | 11, 10 |  
12, 10 | ISOCRATES 4, 21 | 177 | 6, 82 | 8, 6 | 11, 8 | 15, 159 | 17, 47 | Epistolae.  
8, 8 | LYCURGUS. in Leoc. 23 | 58 | LYSIAS. 3, 29 | 31 | 12, 15 | 19 | 64 | 14, 14 |  
21, 10 | 31, 26 | Frag. 75, 3 | PLATO. Apol. 17 d | Phaed. 73 a | Sophist. 217 b |

Polit. 275 e | Phileb. 30 a | Alcib. II. 143 d | 147 d | Anterast. 132 a | 132 c | Theag. 123 b | 126 b | 128 e | Charmid. 155 a | Lysis 222 a | Euthyd. 274 b | 274 b | Symp. 172 a | Protag. 334 d | Crito. 50 e | Gorgias. 447 d | 448 b | 453 c | 486 d | 500 a | Ion. 540 d | Menex. 240 d | Timaeus. 21 b | 37 d | 77 d | Epistolae. 324 d | 329 a | Theat. 161 c | Eryx. 392 a | 392 a | 396 a | 396 b | 403 c | SOPHOCLES. Ai. 748 | El. 529 | O. R. 348 | THUCYDIDES. 1, 55, 1 | 92, 1 | 2, 13, 1 | 49, 1 | 51, 1 | 3, 62, 3 | 70, 5 | 102, 3 | 4, 70, 1 | 132, 2 | 5, 31, 1 | 75, 2 | 6, 89, 6 | 7, 23, 2 | 50, 4 | 81, 4 | 8, 12, 2 | 54, 4 | 66, 3 | 91, 2 | XENOPHON. Anab. 1, 1, 2 | 1, 8 | 1, 9 | 2, 1, 7 | 2, 14 | 2, 20 | 5, 37 | 3, 2, 10 | 4, 48 | 4, 2, 4 | 5, 2, 26 | 6, 37 | 7, 15 | 7, 25 | 6, 1, 2 | 5, 22 | 6, 5 | 7, 1, 17 | 1, 19 | 2, 19 | 3, 29 | 6, 24 | Cyropaed. 1, 3, 8 | 2, 2, 11 | 3, 1, 36 | 4, 1, 13 | 5, 4, 2 | 4, 16 | Hell. 1, 3, 10 | 2, 3, 36 | 3, 2, 15 | 2, 16 | 2, 28 | 4, 1, 29 | 4, 7 | 4, 8 | 5, 1 | 8, 18 | 8, 29 | 5, 4, 15 | 4, 22 | 6, 2, 25 | 2, 31 | 4, 18 | 4, 20 | 7, 4, 3 | 4, 22 | 4, 27 | 4, 36 | 4, 40 | 5, 15 | Conv. 1, 2 | 4, 19 | Ages. 2, 2 |

#### Class γ'

DEMOSTHENES. 23, 122 | [25], 56 | HERODOTUS. 7, 3, 1 | 224, 2 | 8, 114, 12 | ISOCRATES. 12, 122 | 15, 28 | Epistolae. 2, 1 | LYSIAS. 12, 16 | 27 | 32, 26 | PLATO. Rep. 328 c | Phileb. 27 e | Euthyd. 274 b | THUCYDIDES. 3, 98, 1 | 6, 96, 3 | 8, 5, 5 | 105, 3 | XENOPHON. Anab. 1, 9, 31 | 4, 1, 24 | 8, 26 | 7, 3, 29 | Hell. 3, 2, 13 | 5, 1, 18 | 3, 1 | 6, 5, 22 |

#### Class δ'

AESCHINES 2, 153 | [Epistolae]. 5, 1 | AESCHYLUS. Ch. 997 | Eum. 726 | ANTIPHON 1, 16 | Tetral. A, α, 4 | ARISTOPHANES. X. 964 | Ek. 95 | 345 | 736 | B. 192 | 1346 | I. 1138 | O. 1622 | Π. 150 | DEMODOCUS. Frag. 6 | DEMOSTHENES. 6, 8 | 18, 112 | 22, 2 | 69 | [25] 57 | 30, 11 | 33, 6 | 7 | 35, 31 | [47], 20 | 22 | 55 | 63 | EUPOLIS. Frag. 159, vs. 9 | EURIPIDES. Hipp. 826 | Hel. 180 | I. A. 375 | 893 | Or. 1426 | 1459 | Frag. 163 | HERODOTUS. 1, 176, 12 | 2, 162, 14 | 3, 78, 1 | 5, 33, 9 | 5, 86, 3 | 6, 41, 11 | 6, 65, 21 | 7, 167, 9 | 9, 106, 21 | HESIOD. Catal. Frag. 32 | HOMER. ε 334 = τ 291 | ISAEUS. 1, 9 | 20 | 21 | 30 | 9, 27 | ISOCRATES. 15, 104 | 16, 30 | 18, 5 | 19, 18 | LYSIAS. 12, 34 | Frag. 75, 5 | PINDAR. Nem. 1, 49 | PLATO. Apol. 32 b | Phaedo. 77 e | 89 a | 111 e | 116 e | Parmen. 133 b | Phaedr. 229 a | 232 d | 243 c | Alcib. 110 b | Alcib. II. 138 b | Euthyd. 272 e | Protag. 313 d | 313 e | 355 c | Rep. 332 b | 468 c | 494 c | Gorgias. 490 c | 518 d | Hipp. Maj. 292 a | 293 d | Legg. 799 d | Epistolae. 348 c | Eryx. 399 b | 405 d | 392 d | SOPHOCLES. Ai. 742 | THUCYDIDES. 1, 41, 2 | 57, 6 | 72, 1 | 104, 2 | 116, 1 | 116, 1 | 135, 3 | 136, 3 | 2, 25, 2 | 31, 1 | 91, 3 | 93, 2 | 95, 3 | 3, 3, 4 | 9, 2 | 33, 1 | 90, 2 | 105, 3 | 4, 5, 1 | 48, 3 | 57, 1 | 59, 3 | 104, 5 | 112, 2 | 113, 2 | 124, 4 | 130, 3 | 5, 22, 1 | 30, 5 | 36, 1 | 44, 1 | 46, 5 | 50, 5 | 76, 3 | 7, 4, 3 | 73, 2 | 8, 17, 3 | 21, 1 | 31, 1 | 79, 2 | 92, 6 | 95, 4 | 98, 1 | XENOPHON. Anab. 1, 5, 14 | 10, 3 | 2, 1, 9 | 2, 14 | 4, 15 | 3, 3, 8 | 4, 2, 8 | 5, 3, 8 | 4, 34 | 7, 1, 2 | Memorab. 2, 2, 12 | Cyropaed. 2, 1, 29 | 3, 1, 4 | 1, 12 | 4, 1, 17 | 2, 11 | 5, 1, 3 | 4, 9 | 7, 5, 47 | 8, 3, 28 | Hell. 1, 6, 25 | 6, 27 | 2, 4, 33 | 3, 3, 5 | 3, 9 | 4, 25 | 5, 8 | 4, 1, 19 | 8, 3 | 8, 34 | 5, 1, 11 | 6, 2, 29 | 4, 14 | 5, 33 | Oec. 1, 4 | 2, 12 | Conv. 2, 3 | Reip. Laced. 2, 11 | Hipparch. 2, 7 | De Re eques. 7, 3 |

**Class ε'**

AESCHINES. 1, 56 | ANTIPHON. 5, 21 | *Frag.* 131 | ARISTOPHANES. *Ek.* 320 | 375 | Π. 3 | 237 | 242 | N. 1079 | O. 453 | 458 | EUPOLIS. *Frag.* 118 | EURIPIDES. *Hel.* 891 | H. M. 216 | *Frag.* 222 | HERODOTUS. 1, 149, 7 | 2, 159, 8 | 5, 23, 5 | 7, 194, 1 | 9, 21, 1 | ISAEUS. 9, 7 | ISOOCRATES. 10, 13 | 12, 38 | 15, 16 | 124 | 140 | 172 | 176 | LYSIAS. 3, 42 | 19, 34 | 24, 9 | PHILYLLIUS. *Frag.* 10 | PLATO. *Rep.* 408 b | 492 a | 495 b | *Phaedo.* 58 b | 59 b | *Polit.* 290 e | *Symp.* 193 c | 199 b | 221 a | *Phaedr.* 238 a | *Anterast.* 136 c | *Euthyd.* 275 e | *Protag.* 327 c | *Legg.* 776 d | *Epistolae.* 323 b | SOPHOCLES. *O. R.* 87 | 1479 | *O. C.* 560 | 1580 | THUCYDIDES. 3, 112, 1 | 4, 9, 1 | 13, 4 | 70, 2 | 111, 2 | 116, 2 | 5, 8, 4 | 12, 2 | 6, 61, 2 | 7, 2, 4 | 70, 4 | 79, 3 | 8, 41, 2 | XENOPHON. *Cyropaed.* 7, 5, 49 | *Hell.* 1, 2, 8 |

**Class ε'**

ANTIPHON 5, 65 | ARISTOPHANES. *Σ.* 462 | DEMOSTHENES. 33, 7 | 47, 38 | EURIPIDES. *Frag.* 612 | HERODOTUS. 7, 102, 16 | 208, 11 | 9, 49, 13 | ISOOCRATES. 3, 51 | PLATO. *Phaedo.* 58 c | 81 e | *Gorgias.* 460 a | THUCYDIDES. 1, 103, 3 | 135, 3 | 2, 4, 5 | 5, 4 | 3, 3, 2 | 20, 3 | 90, 2 | 4, 129, 3 | 6, 102, 2 | 7, 29, 5 | 8, 61, 2 | XENOPHON. *Anab.* 1, 5, 8 | *Cyropaed.* 2, 1, 27 | 8, 7, 5 | *Hell.* 3, 1, 19 | 4, 7, 6 | 7, 1, 18 | 2, 8, 4, 21 | *Oec.* 4, 19 | *Ages.* 1, 36 | *Reip. Laced.* 6, 4 |

**Class ζ'**

AESCHINES. 1, 38 | 3, 9 | 94 | ANDOCIDES. [4], 42 | ARISTOPHANES. *Ei.* 277 | O. 760 | DEMOSTHENES. 6, 2 | 18, 123 | 38, 6 | 44, 10 | [*Προβλημα*]. 1, p. 1425 | I Γ. p. 1427 | N, p. 1456 | [*Epistolae*] A, 4, p. 1463 | EURIPIDES. *Herac.* 326 | I. T. 473 | I. A. 876 | HERODOTUS. 2, 135, 13 | 7, 104, 5 | ISAEUS. 8, 10 | ISOOCRATES. 5, 9 | 17 | 42 | 88 | 106 | 125 | 137 | 142 | 152 | 6, 24 | 7, 3 | 8, 57 | 69 | 9, 6 | 10, 14 | 11, 28 | 31 | 45 | 12, 3 | 39 | 150 | 178 | 236 | 15, 17 | 78 | 122 | 171 | 187 | 243 | 310 | 322 | 19, 44 | *Epistolae.* 9, 7 | LYSIAS. 3, 24 | 37 | 7, 29 | 12, 77 | 25, 13 | PLATO. *Theat.* 165 c | *Phaed.* 61 d | *Sophist.* 242 a | *Phileb.* 51 e | *Phaedr.* 230 a | 260 b | *Alcib.* 106 d | *Alcib.* II. 143 d | *Charmid.* 154 d | 167 a | *Laches.* 184 e | *Crito.* 52 a | *Protag.* 339 b | *Gorgias.* 481 d | *Meno.* 71 a | *Hipp.* *Maj.* 302 c | *Ion.* 536 e | *Timaeus.* 19 b | 23 a | *Legg.* 708 a | 807 a | 886 e | 918 c | 947 d | 950 b | *Eryx.* 398 e | 403 a | SOPHOCLES. *O. C.* 1359 | XENOPHON. *Cyropaed.* 3, 3, 30 | 3, 35 | 5, 3, 14 |

**Class η'**

EURIPIDES. *And.* 1120 | HERODOTUS. 6, 65, 21 | LYSIAS. 12, 27 | PLATO. *Legg.* 677 e | SOPHOCLES. *O. C.* 1349 | THUCYDIDES. 3, 111, 2 | 8, 105, 3 |

**Class θ'**

DEMOSTHENES. 52, 9 | EURIPIDES. *Hipp.* 388 | *Bacch.* 1140 | *Phoen.* 49 | ISOOCRATES. 4, 103 | 14, 57 | SOPHOCLES. *Tr.* 370 | 695 | *El.* 569 |

**Class ι'**

METAGENES *Frag.* 1 | PLATO. *Eryx.* 396 b |

**Class (1)**

HERODOTUS 4, 144, 6 | PLATO. Rep. 580 c | Symp. 175 c | Hipparch. 229 d | Lysis 207 d | SOPHOCLES. Ant. 469 | THUCYDIDES. 1, 9, 2 | XENOPHON. Cyropaed. 7, 5, 80 | Oec. 7, 8 |

**Class (2)**

ANDOCIDES. 1, 41 | ARISTOPHANES. N. 1130 | HERODOTUS. 1, 191, 29 | 3, 121, 4 | 7, 151, 3 | 8, 65, 4 | LYCURGUS. in Leocr. 98 | PLATO. Phaed. 87 e | Parmen. 127 c | Phaedr. 231 e | SOPHOCLES. Ai. 88 | THUCYDIDES. 8, 14, 2 | XENOPHON. Anab. 5, 7, 19 |

**Class (3)**

ARISTOPHANES. Ek. 172 | Herodotus. 2, 121, (β) 1 | 8, 102, 3 | THUCYDIDES. 4, 73, 3 | 1, 70, 7 |

**Class (4)**

ARISTOPHANES. Ei. 1140 | HERODOTUS. 3, 121, 9 | PLATO. Phaed. 74 e | 75 b |

**Class (5)**

ISOCRATES. Epistolae. 8, 4 |

**Class (6)**

XENOPHON. Anab. 2, 3, 2 | Hell. 1, 6, 21 |

**Class (7)**

XENOPHON. Hell. 5, 1, 2 |

*Κυπεῖν.***Class α'**

EURIPIDES. Al. 954 | And. 422 | H. M. 1117 | Bacch. 728 | Or. 513 | Ion. 41 | SOPHOCLES. Ph. 444 | 805 | 1280 | El. 1409 | O. R. 258 | Tr. 406 | 413 | Ai. 542 | 1345 | 87 | 347 |

**Class β'**

SOPHOCLES. O. R. 985 | El. 1331 | O. C. 1159 (κύρω) |

**Class ε**

HERODOTUS. 8, 87, 16 (συγκυπεῖν) |

**Class ι'**

AESCHYLUS. Pers. 503 | EURIPIDES. Elec. 777 | I. T. 1285 | Med. 265 | SOPHOCLES. O. R. 594 | O. C. 414 | 572 | 1308 | Tr. 386 | 1399 |

**Class θ'**

SOPHOCLES. Ph. 30 | O. C. 119 | El. 1176 |

**Class (1)**

AESCHYLUS. Sept. 401 | Ag. 1201 |

STATISTICAL TABLE FOR *τυγχάνειν*.

α.....	3	1	..	6	..	17	11	..	13	1	25	1	37	..	..	1	6	109	1	14	..	1	..	276	1	9	4	31 = 568	
β.....	2	..	1	1	..	3	2	..	9	..	7	1	17	..	..	5	8	2	9	..	..	..	37	..	3	20	64 = 191		
γ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8 = 26		
δ.....	2	2	..	..	..	2	9	..	1	13	1	7	..	9	1	1	5	4	..	2	..	..	1	27	..	1	43	40 = 171	
ε.....	1	..	..	..	..	2	8	..	..	1	3	5	..	..	..	1	7	..	3	..	..	1	15	..	4	13	2 = 66		
ς.....	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	3	..	..	3	..	11	11 = 34			
ζ.....	3	..	1	..	2	..	8	..	..	8	3	2	..	..	..	1	33	..	5	..	..	..	27	..	1	..	3 = 89		
η.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	.. = 7		
θ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	.. = 2		
ι.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	.. = 2		
κ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
λ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
μ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
ν.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
ξ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
ο.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
π.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
ρ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
σ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
τ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
υ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
φ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
χ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
ψ.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
ω.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 2		
Σ.....	11	3	1	1	7	8	39	11	1	48	3	50	2	77	1	1	1	18	167	3	37	1	1	1	390	1	22	97	159 = 1163
9 .. 2 4 6 = 35	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 35		
Total of examples,	1198	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.. = 1198		

The normal form of the participial construction with *τυγχάνω*, *λανθάνω*, *φθάνω*, etc., is represented by classes  $\alpha'$ ,  $\epsilon'$ , (1), (3), which show absolute identity of tense between finite verb and participle.<sup>1</sup> The variations from this type, so far as *τυγχάνω* is concerned, may be readily seen by reference to the scheme of classification. They are considerable in extent, and present modifications of differing importance: the divergence, for example, from the normal form in classes which show combinations of present and perfect is, of course, slight; on the other hand, in the combination represented by class  $\gamma'$  it becomes greater; and finally, in classes  $\eta'$  and  $\theta'$ , the apparent lack of coincidence in tense creates a difficulty in conceiving the action of the participle as predicated by the finite verb. This lack of coincidence presents no such difficulty in combinations like those of classes  $\delta'$  and  $\varsigma'$ , where the finite verb is in the aorist, because here, under a strict use of tenses, the finite verb predicates the instantaneous occurrence of the action expressed by the participle; that is, in these cases, of an action which is conceived of as a state, or as going on (present), or as representing in its completion a still existing condition (perfect). When, however, the case is reversed, as in classes  $\eta'$  and  $\theta'$ , and continuity or recurrence is predicated of the instantaneous action which the participle expresses, the combination becomes inconceivable. In the discussion of the examples under  $\eta'$  and  $\theta'$  the attempt will be made to show how this difficulty may be avoided.

The development of the participial construction with *φθάνω*, *λανθάνω*, and *τυγχάνω* does not seem always to have followed parallel lines. This fact was noted some time ago by Professor Gildersleeve,<sup>1</sup> and more recently Alexander Weiske has published some statistics of *φθάνω*, which tend to show that in the use of this verb the normal scheme of the construction was much more closely adhered to than it was in the case of the other two.<sup>2</sup> The variations of *λανθάνω* from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gildersleeve, Justin Martyr, I, 12 (note).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jahrb. für Philol. 1884, I, p. 826. The rule which Weiske deduces from his examples is this: With the present or imperfect of *φθάνω* either the present or the perfect participle is used; on the other hand, with the future, aorist and historical present the aorist participle is used. This is true of *φθάνω* in all moods. One exception is noted,—that in Thucyd. 3, 83, 3,—*μη φθάσει προεπιβουλευόμενοι*. This is explained on the ground "dasz es sich hier um

this scheme are unquestionably considerable, although in the absence of complete statistics generalizations are not possible.

There are a few points of interest in connection with certain of the classes of τυγχάνω which call for some notice.

**Classes β', γ', δ', ε'**

These form a kind of group in themselves, β' corresponding to δ', and γ' to ε'. As a matter of fact the examples do not show here that the distinction between imperfect and aorist was very closely observed; cf. Xen. Anab. 1, 5, 8, ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐστηκώς, with Anab. 4, 8, 26, οὐπερ ἐστηκότες ἐτύχχανον. The remarks in §§ 56 and 57 of the "Moods and Tenses" adequately explain such looseness in the use of tenses.

**Classes α', ε' (1) (3)**

Here we find the normal scheme of the construction, and the coincidence in time between the actions expressed by participle and verb seems to be complete. This holds good apparently in cases also where the verb is found in the subjunctive or optative mood and expresses future time. Compare "Moods and Tenses," § 144 (end), for some examples of future forms of φθάνω and λανθάνω which occur in conjunction with aorist participles. To these may be added three examples which Weiske cites, Thucyd. 5, 10, 3, 8, 12, 1. Plato. Rep. 375 c. In the case of τυγχάνω such examples are found only in the dependent moods.

**Classes η', θ'**

It is in the case of examples under these two classes that the difficulty of conceiving the coincidence in tense between participle

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die Schilderung von Sittenzuständen händelt und nicht um die Raschheit zweier schnell auf einander folgender Handlungen." Another example, Thucyd. 8, 92, 1, is cited where φθῆναι ἐξειργασμένοι (so *cod. vat.*) occurs, but this is not so distinctly reckoned as an exception. Two passages from Homer which seem to violate the rule might have been added, Λ 451 φθῆ σε τέλος θανάτοιο κιχήμενον and λ 58 ἔφθης πεσὺς ἰών, or perhaps ἑών. Weiske cites seventy-two examples in all, and his statistics, in spite of the fact that φθάνω occurs much less frequently than τυγχάνω, can therefore hardly be considered complete. They however show a strong tendency. Fuller statistics are needed for both φθάνω and λανθάνω before a trustworthy comparison between the three verbs can be made.



and verb is felt. The instantaneous action which the participle expresses, if it is really used as an aorist, is represented as having duration. The difficulty may be met by interpreting the participle as a perfect, and this indeed does no great violence to Greek usage, since in the moods of the finite verb a similar loose use of the aorist is by no means uncommon.<sup>1</sup> In translation, then, the examples of class  $\eta'$  would be rendered as if belonging to class  $\gamma'$ , and those of class  $\theta'$  as if they belonged to class  $\zeta'$ . The action expressed by the participle will thus represent in its completion a still existing condition, and so be brought into harmony with the finite verb upon which it depends. The distinct temporal value of the participle in these combinations is most clearly seen in the examples of class  $\theta'$ , and these will therefore be cited first: —

$\theta'$

(a) Demos. 52, 9. ὁ Λύκων τυγχάνει ὦν καὶ ἄπαις καὶ κληρονόμον οὐδένα καταλιπών. *Lycon happens to have no children and to have left no heir at home.*

(b) Eurip. Bacch. 1140. ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χερσίν. *Which the mother happens to have taken in her hands.*

(c) Eurip. Hipp. 388. ταῦτ' ὅν ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνω προγνοῦσ'<sup>2</sup> ἐγώ, | οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅποι' φαρμάκῳ διαφθερεῖν | ἔμελλον,. *Since, then, I chance to have perceived these truths beforehand, there is no spell whereby I was destined to destroy them.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Moods and Tenses," §§ 58, 91, 104.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. E. The reading of other codd. *φρονοῦσ'* is very possibly the true one, and of course, if this be so, the example falls out. The Scholiast explains by *ἐτόγχανον γινώσκουσα*, and, following this, Weil has *'τόγχανον φρονοῦσ'*. The interpretation of the passage (reading *προγνοῦσ'*) which is given seeks to bring the tense relations of protasis and apodosis into harmony. The idea expressed by *ἔμελλον διαφθερεῖν* thus becomes one of simple futurity. It is, however, quite possible to take the presents *τυγχάνω* and *ἔστι* as historical; and indeed this explanation of the passage is perhaps simpler than the one proposed. But in this case the difficulty of determining whether the presents represent aorists or imperfects, and consequently of applying our theory of interpretation, is a serious one. The Greek aorist, especially with *ἐπειδὴ* (cf. "Moods and Tenses," § 59), frequently represents an idea which the English expresses by the pluperfect. *ἐπειδὴ ἔτυχον προγνοῦσ'* suits the sense of the passage; although Phaedra might equally well say *ἐπειδὴ ἐτόγχανον προγνοῦσ'*, giving the participle a perfect force.

(d) Eurip. Phoen. 49. τυγχάνει δέ πως | αἰνιγμ' ἐμὸς παῖς Οἰδίπους Σφίγγος μαθών. *My son Oedipus chances in some way to have learned (i.e. to know) the riddle of the Sphinx.* τυγχάνει is here a historical present. If it represents an aorist, the combination is that of class ε'; if, however, it stands for the imperfect, it should be interpreted as belonging to class η'. In the former case the participle and verb would be entirely contemporaneous — "he chanced to learn"; in the latter case this would not be so, and we should have, "he chanced (imperf.) to have learned." As a matter of fact it is likely that the historical present here represents the imperfect; but the fact that μαθών in ordinary use states, like a perfect, the present completion of its action, and really means "to know," complicates the interpretation seriously, and makes any discussion inconclusive.

(e) Isocr. 14, 57. ὥστε δικαίως ἂν τὴν αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἀπολάβοιμεν, ἥνπερ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπάρξαντες. *It is just that we should receive back the same kindness which we chance to have first shown to you (lit. to have begun toward you).*

(f) Isocr. 4, 103. ἐφ' ὧν οἱ πειθαρχήσαντες ἄριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες. *Under whom the subjects chance to have fared best.*

(g) Soph. Trach. 370. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι πρὸς σέ δηλῶσαι τὸ πᾶν, | δέσποινα, ὃ τοῦδε τυγχάνω μαθὼν πάρα. *I thought best to tell thee all, mistress, which I chance to have learned from him.*

(h) Soph. Trach. 695. τὸ γὰρ κάταγμα τυγχάνω ῥύψασά πως. τυγχάνω is a historical present, and may represent either an imperfect or an aorist. The connection rather favors the imperfect; and, in that case, we should translate, *for I chance somehow to have thrown away the bit of wool.* The progress of events is as follows: Deianira prepares the robe which she purposes to give Heracles, puts the gift in a box (ll. 622, 692), and comes upon the stage at l. 531 to tell the chorus of her plan. Lichas enters, receives the gift, and Deianira retires into her house. As she goes in (l. 694, εἶσω δ' ἀποστείχουσα), she sees that the lock of wool, which she *happened to have thrown away* where the sun's rays would strike it, has been consumed. She suddenly realizes the situation, and, overcome with horror, rushes forth to tell the chorus what has happened, using in her speech the words which have been quoted. The action of casting aside the wool is a completed one at the time referred to, that is, when Deianira re-entered the house. The Greek, however, is

frequently content with the aorist where the English uses the perfect or pluperfect (cf. "Moods and Tenses," § 58), and *might* therefore have expressed the idea thus: *ἔτυχον γὰρ τὸ κατάγμα ῥύψασα*.

(i) Soph. Electr. 569. *οὐ κατὰ σφαγὰς | ἐκκομπάσας ἔπος τι τυγχάνει βαλὼν*. *At whose death he chanced to (have) let fall a boastful word*. Here again *τυγχάνει* is a historical present, and the same difficulty which was felt in the case of example (h) appears once more. The perfect nature of the action expressed by *βαλὼν* is, however, not strongly marked, and it seems most natural to interpret *τυγχάνει* as equivalent to *ἔτυχε*.

(j) Soph. Phil. 30. *ὄρα καθ' ὕπνον μὴ καταυλισθεὶς κυρῇ*. *Look to it lest he chance to have retired to sleep*. The thought is of his *being* asleep within.

(k) Soph. O. C. 119. *ποῦ κυρεῖ ἐκτόπιος συθεὶς ὁ πάντων, | ὁ πάντων ἀκρόστατος*. *Where doth it chance that he hath fled, he, shameless above all men? i.e. 'Where is he?'*

(l) Soph. Electr. 1176. *τί δ' ἔσχες ἄλγος; πρὸς τί τοῦτ' εἰπὼν κυρεῖς*; *What aileth thee? How happens it that thou didst speak thus?*<sup>1</sup>

# η'

(a) Eurip. And. 1120. *χωρεῖ δὲ πρύμναν· οὐ γὰρ ἐς καιρὸν τυπεῖς | ἐτύγχαν'*. *And he (Neoptolemus) steps back (lit. backs water), for he chanced not to have been struck (i.e. to be wounded) in a fatal part*.

(b) Herod. 6, 65, 21. *τοὺς ἐφόρους μάρτυρας παρεχόμενος κείνους, οἱ τότε ἐτύγχανον πάρεδροί τε ἔδοντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα Ἀρίστωνος*. *Calling as witnesses the ephors who at the time chanced to be seated near Ariston and to have heard what he said*.

(c) Lysias. 12, 27. *δοῖς ἀντειπὼν γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος*. (Upon whom were they less likely to have laid their commands than upon one) *who chanced to have spoken in opposition to them and to have declared his opinion?* A Greek would very likely have felt the difference in the tenses of the particles.

(d) Plato. Legg. 677 e. *καὶ εἴ τί πον αἰγῶν περιλειφθὲν ἐτύγχανε γένος*. *If any race of goats happened to have been left*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare with the examples under class 6', Plato Phileb. 47 D., *μῆτις μία λόπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς συμπίπτει γενομένη*, i.e. *happens to have taken place*.

(e) Soph. O. C. 1349. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, ἄνδρες τῆσδε δημοῦχοι χθονός, | μὴ 'τύγχαν' αὐτὸν δεῦρο προσπέμψας ἐμοὶ | ᾠσεύς,. *Were not Theseus he who had sent him hither* (Jebb). i.e. *If Theseus did not chance to have sent him hither.*

(f) Thucyd. 3, 111, 2. οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακίωται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἄθροοι ξυνελθόντες, ὥς ἔγνωσαν ἀπionτας,. *And the Ambraciots and the rest who happened to have come together on the instant in a body, when they saw them going off—*

(g) Thucyd. 8, 105, 3. οἱ τε Συρακόσιοι ἐτύγχανον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη τοῖς περὶ Θράσυλον ἐνδεδωκότες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρων. *And the Syracusans happened themselves to have already given in to Thrasyllus and his party and to have taken to flight the more readily, when they saw the rest flying too.*

There has been a great deal of discussion of the passage cited in example (f). See Classen's *Anhang* to Bk. III, the note *ad loc.* in the Poppo-Stahl edition, L. Herbst in *Philologus* XVI 305, and Boehme's edition, note *ad loc.* The difficulties are in relation to μὲν after ὅσοι, to οὕτως after ἐτύγχανον, and finally objection is made to the combination of the aorist participle ξυνελθόντες with the imperfect ἐτύγχανον. None of these difficulties are insurmountable, or at any rate they seem less formidable than the emendations which would obviate them. ὅσοι μὲν refers to a portion of the Ambraciots, doubtless the larger portion, for as many as two hundred of their number were killed. The remainder presumably melted away, since we hear no more of them. Or we may suppose that the small remainder joined their comrades again after the rout; for these, it seems, did not succeed in their attempt to get away. This is shown, as Stahl remarks, by the conative imperfect ξυνεξῆσαν in 113, 1. μὲν, to be sure, is without doubt in an uncommon position, but it forms a natural enough contrast with the οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες of the next sentence, and need hardly be considered *unmotiviert* (Classen). For οὕτως see Boehme's note. He translates, "so unbefangen, so ohne weitere Absicht." Jowett has "on the instant." Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 464 B, *Symp.* 176 e for a somewhat similar use. The remaining difficulty of ἐτύγχανον ξυνελθόντες,<sup>1</sup> which Classen holds to be a hopeless vio-

<sup>1</sup> Not ξυνεξεληθόντες, which Stahl and Classen both rightly object to, on the ground that it contradicts the ξυνεξῆσαν of 113, 1.

lation of Thucydidean usage, is easily removed if we interpret the participle as expressing a perfect action. Moreover, example (g), which Classen seems to have overlooked, tends to show that Thucydides was less strict than has been supposed in avoiding the conjunction of the aorist participle with the imperfect of *τυγχάνω*. Herbst (l.c.) would shut out this example as evidence in support of the *ξυνελθόντες*, because of its close association with *ἐνδεδωκότες*, and its consequent perfect sense. The very fact, however, that it has a perfect sense makes it of value in this discussion, since it is the perfect and not the aoristic meaning which we are seeking to prove for *ξυνελθόντες*. Another passage which in this connection is important should be noted — Thucyd. 7, 2, 4. The statement in regard to the arrival of Gylippus at Syracuse stands thus in the *codex vaticanus*, *ἔτυγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ καιροῦ ἔλθων ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.ε.* The reading of other Mss. has generally been followed, and the aorist *ἔτυχε* will be found certainly in all the more recent texts. It does not, however, seem at all impossible that Thucydides wrote *ἐτύγχανε ἔλθων*, which makes perfectly good sense under the theory that the aorist participle has a perfect meaning in this combination; indeed, on some accounts such an interpretation suits the context better than the other. Gylippus has formed a junction with the Syracusan forces, and is marching in battle array upon Epipolae. We expect at once the account of the engagement, but instead of that the historian breaks off his narrative for a moment to tell how far the work on the Athenian wall of circumvallation had progressed when Gylippus arrived. That is, Gylippus *is on the ground* when the Athenian wall is so and so; *he chanced to have come* at such and such a time. The thought is of aid coming when matters had reached a certain point and were in a particular condition, and not — certainly not in this sentence — of an instantaneous arrival and immediate attack, however much this latter thought may comport with the facts of the case. It is not contended that the ordinary reading gives poor sense, but only that the reading of the *vaticanus* is not to be lightly set aside as a violation of Thucydidean usage.

The apparent example of *κυρεῖν* (infinitive) with the aorist participle in Aeschylus, Frag. 276 = Aristoph. B. 1291, is not in reality one, since it seems clear, in spite of the nonsensical character of the passage, that the infinitive is not to be construed with the participle.

How the words stood as Aeschylus originally used them it is of course impossible to say.<sup>1</sup>

The theory for the interpretation of the aorist participle in classes η' and θ' will very probably commend itself to scholars more readily in the case of examples belonging to the latter class, than in the case of those in which both finite verb and participle denote past time. Thus the reviewer of the "Moods and Tenses" in *The Nation*, No. 1293, says with reference to the proposed interpretation of examples under class η': "At any rate it must often be a mere matter of how one chooses to translate." This is perhaps true in a few cases, but it is by no means so in all; cf. especially η' (b), (c), (e). Moreover, when this use of the aorist participle seems certain in a good number of examples, it is more than likely that those which at first sight appear doubtful, will, after due consideration, be found to conform naturally to the general principle. The test, too, of simple translation is sometimes misleading, or, at any rate, inadequate.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herod. V, 36, 3, Ἀρισταγόρῃ δὲ συνέπιπτε τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου πάντα ταῦτα συνελθόντα. The thought here is of a number of different motives to action *being present* to Aristagoras at the same time; i.e. the motives *chanced to have come to him*. IX, 101, 7. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Πausανίῳ Ἑλλήνων ὁρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα. *Rightly also did the report chance to have come* (i.e. *to be current*) *that the Greeks with Pausanias had won the victory*. In connection with class ι' cf. Plato, Legg. 889 B. (συμπίπτω), Herod. I, 82, 4 (συμπίπτω, pluperf.). Cf. "Moods and Tenses," § 890.



## THE 'STAGE' IN ARISTOPHANES.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

THAT famous architect and doubtless honest man, Vitruvius Pollio, says in his celebrated treatise On Architecture that the stage in a Greek theatre should be not less than ten nor more than twelve feet high. He says also that the actors performed on the stage, the chorus in the orchestra. Pollux repeats the last statement.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars have universally believed in the existence of a stage in the Greek theatre and in the consequent separation of actors and chorus by a difference of level, until within the last ten years. But with the excavation of the theatres at Epidaurus, Assos, Oropus, and elsewhere, in quick succession within the last decade, and the final excavation of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens in 1886, the unquestioned belief of centuries has been rudely called in question.

Many a student of the Greek drama must have felt the inherent difficulties arising from the supposition of a stage. To 'set' a play like the *Birds* or *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes on a stage of *any* height is difficult and awkward. The stairway that is needed in order to effect connexion between the orchestra on the lower level and the stage above<sup>2</sup> is fatally destructive of that perfect ease of action which is instinctively felt to be everywhere characteristic of the comedies of the great playwright. The natural solution of the difficulty, the bold assumption that actors and chorus stood on a level and played their closely interwoven parts on the common floor of the orchestra, seems not even to have been conceived before the

<sup>1</sup> Vitruv. V. 7. 2: ita tribus centris hac descriptione ampliore habent orchestram Graeci et scaenam recessiorem minoreque latitudine pulpitum, quod *λογεῖον* appellant, ideo quod eo tragici et comici actores in scaena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram praestant actiones; itaque ex eo scaenici et thymelici graece separatim nominantur. eius logei altitudo non minus debet esse pedum X, non plus duodecim. Poll. IV. 123: καὶ σκηνὴ μὲν ὑποκριτῶν ἴδιον, ἥ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη, εἴτε βῆμά τι οὐσα εἴτε βωμός.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Poll. IV. 127: εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀναβαῖνους· διὰ κλιμάκων· τῆς δὲ κλιμάκος οἱ βαθμοὶ κλιμακτῆρες καλοῦνται.



last decade. Such an assumption would have opposed a tradition which antedates the Christian era.

The difficulty presented by the height of the Vitruvian stage has been dealt with variously. A second stage has been built up in front of it, for the use of the chorus, and its advocates have confidently believed that its existence could be proved on ancient authority.<sup>1</sup> Again the suggestion has been made that the stage on which the plays of the four great dramatists were acted may not have been so high as the rule of Vitruvius demands. His stage of ten or twelve feet has been reduced to one of six or seven feet or even less.<sup>2</sup> This is probably the resort to which most teachers have had recourse when brought face to face with the question in the lecture-room. If they have not ignored the question altogether, they have adopted a stage that was *low*, such as that of Phaedrus in the theatre at Athens and those found in other Romanized theatres. Such a stage is the least inconvenient to deal with, and tallies well in height with that to which we have become accustomed in the modern theatre.

The theatre at Epidaurus presents a 'stage' altogether different from that of the Romanized Greek theatre. In front of the stage-building, so-called, in this theatre was a proscenium, a handsome façade which consisted of eighteen engaged Ionic columns supporting an entablature. The proscenium was slightly advanced at each end

<sup>1</sup> See the citations in Müller, *Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 129<sup>1</sup>. The passages cited are misapplied, so that there is not even the authority of late writers for this 'stage for the chorus,' which is essentially a modern fiction. Much less is there the least suggestion of such a stage in the extant dramas. Oehmichen also, *Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen und Römer* (in I. Müller's *Handbuch*, V. 3, p. 242), believes in the supplementary stage.

<sup>2</sup> See Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 158. Mr. Verrall, in his review of Mr. Haigh's book in the *Classical Review* (Vol. IV. 1890, p. 226), while regarding it certain that Aeschylus and his immediate successors used a stage, seems to reduce the height of the stage in Aeschylus to something considerably less than "six or seven feet." He says: "That the back part of the scene should be somewhat higher in level than the front would be in the *Eumenides*, as always, practically necessary; but it is an equally plain condition that the whole scene should be one to the eye and one for the purpose of inter-action and intercommunication."—The exact determination of the date of the stage of the theatre at Megalopolis excavated by the British School at Athens is awaited with great interest. See Mr. Gardner's brief statement of the results of the excavations in the *Athenaeum* for August 23, 1890, repeated in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1890, p. 368 ff.

in the form of a wing. At its centre and in the front of each of the wings was a door, the sill of which in each instance was on a level with the orchestra. The orchestra was a complete circle, whose periphery approached the proscenium closely. The height of the proscenium, including the entablature, was twelve feet. It stood eight feet from the front of the main building. The orchestra measured sixty-six feet in diameter. Its outer circle was within three feet of the proscenium.<sup>1</sup> The theatres of Assos, Oropus, and Thespiæ had similar proscenia. There was a permanent proscenium also in the great theatre of Dionysus at Athens.

When the first of these façades was laid bare by excavation, the view was advanced that it was the front supporting wall of the stage. The Vitruvian stage had at last been brought to light. On the floor laid from the entablature to the wall of the main building behind the proscenium the actors had played their parts; the chorus were in the orchestra, twelve feet below. That the proscenium was the front supporting wall of the stage is the view vigorously maintained in two noteworthy books already mentioned, Albert Müller's *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (1886) and Mr. Haigh's *The Attic Theatre* (1890). Dr. Müller believes in the existence of the above-mentioned supplementary stage for the chorus, which would reduce the difference of level between chorus and actors; Mr. Haigh stoutly and successfully argues against it.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, the well-known First Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens, denies that the proscenium was the supporting wall of the stage. It was, he says, the support on which was displayed the scenery appropriate to the play. The actor stood in front of it, not over it. Actors and chorus were on the same level. In the time of the great dramatists, the 'stage' had no existence.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An excellent plan of the theatre at Epidaurus is given in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, p. 1735. See also Tafel LXV. for a restored view of the proscenium. Representations also in Müller, *B.-A.*, pp. 5, 6; Haigh, *A. T.*, pp. 130, 134, 147; and Oehmichen, *Bühnenwesen*, Tafel I. For the excavations at Epidaurus as first reported, see *Ἀθήναιον*, IX. p. 464 ff., X. p. 53 ff.; *Παρθενός*, VI. p. 864; *Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας*, 1881, with four plates, 1882, p. 75, 1883, p. 46 ff., with two plates.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *B.-A.*, pp. 129-136; Haigh, *A. T.*, pp. 154-157.

<sup>3</sup> In 1884 Julius Höpken presented at the University of Bonn, as candidate for

This view is revolutionary. Dr. Dörpfeld, who is a trained architect, apparently came to entertain it mainly through architectural considerations.<sup>1</sup> His arguments in support of it, and of another view equally revolutionary, as to the date of the great theatre at Athens, will be presented in the winter of 1890-91 in a book already announced.<sup>2</sup>

Those who have engaged in the discussion of this vital question have found common ground on which to stand. It is generally agreed that, when we turn from the architectural to the literary evidence, the lexicographers and scholiasts must be practically abandoned; we must depend upon the evidence furnished by the extant

the degree of doctor of philosophy, a thesis entitled *De Theatro Attico Saeculi A. Chr. Quinti*, in which he combats the generally accepted view transmitted by Vitruvius and Pollux that the chorus played their parts in the orchestra, the actors theirs on a high and narrow stage that stood behind it. According to Höpken "in proscaenio" (the 'stage') "apparatus scaenicus ponitur, quem ante ludorum initium spectatoribus proscaenii aulaeum obtegit." In front of this lies the *ὀρχήστρα*, a low wooden platform occupying the greater part of the space enclosed by the seats. This 'orchestra' is in form two thirds of a circle. About it, at a lower level, lies the *κορίστρα*. The 'orchestra' was occupied in common by actors and chorus.

In combating the tradition transmitted by Vitruvius and Pollux, Höpken depends mainly on late writers. He quotes also certain passages from Aristophanes to prove that the actors must have stood in the vicinity of the spectators. It does not appear from his thesis that he was aware of the excavations at Epidaurus. Höpken has been treated with undeserved contempt by his critics.

<sup>1</sup> It does not appear from any published statement that Dr. Dörpfeld, at the time when he first announced his view, was acquainted with Höpken's argument.

<sup>2</sup> "Das Dionysostheater in Athen, Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Theaters." Dr. Dörpfeld will have Dr. E. Reisch as collaborator in this work.

Dr. Dörpfeld's theory was first announced in print in brief notices in the *Ausgrabungsberichte* in the Athenian "Mittheilungen" and in extracts from a letter in Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 415. It was next briefly presented, on information furnished by Dr. Dörpfeld, in G. Kawerau's article on Theatergebäude in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, p. 1730 ff. In a review of Mr. Haigh's *Attic Theatre* in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for April 12, 1890, Dr. Dörpfeld himself states, but necessarily only briefly, his reasons for believing that actors and chorus played on the same level. Miss Harrison has published a translation of this part of Dr. Dörpfeld's review in the *Classical Review* for June, 1890, p. 274 ff. Mr. Haigh answers Dr. Dörpfeld's criticism in the same number, p. 277 ff. See also Dr. Dörpfeld's review of Oehmichen's *Bühnenwesen* in the *Berliner Philol. Woch.* for November 29, 1890.

Greek dramas themselves.<sup>1</sup> The most bewildering confusion of terms and conceptions pervades the writings of the lexicographers and scholiasts; and yet through all this confusion may be traced the dominant belief in the existence of a stage. This last fact proves no more than that this belief arose and became fixed before the time of these later writers.

The literary evidence, then, in support of or against the theory of the existence of a stage in the fifth century must be sought for in the plays that have come down to us. It would, indeed, be surprising if they left us uncertain as to the facts; and it would be scarcely less surprising if, on a more careful examination than, with a single exception,<sup>2</sup> has yet been given them, they should be found to confirm the testimony furnished by monumental remains, and should themselves supply the evidence on which we should abandon our belief in the existence of a stage in the time of the great dramatists. The importance of such a thorough examination is manifest. Mr. Haigh feels justified in saying: "It appears, therefore, that the testimony of Aristophanes points decisively to the existence of a stage for the actors in the fifth century." And again: "And the passages in Aris-

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<sup>1</sup> "Was spätere Schriftsteller, welche allerdings nicht selten auf das Theaterwesen Bezug nehmen, was Vitruv, die Scholiasten und Lexicographen, namentlich Pollux Einschlagendes berichten, ist zwar zum Theil sehr werthvoll, darf aber für die Einrichtungen des fünften Jahrhunderts, dem die betreffenden Autoren bereits fern standen, nur mit Vorsicht benutzt werden, so dass wir für die classische Zeit wesentlich auf die Durchforschung der erhaltenen Dramen angewiesen sind, und dass diese Quelle, so bald man sich bescheidet, nicht mehr wissen zu wollen, als was aus den Tragödien und Komödien mit Sicherheit ermittelt werden kann, eine durchaus ergiebige ist, haben neuere Forschungen gezeigt, welche mit dem früher üblichen Verfahren, den Bühnenweisungen der Scholiasten und den Nachrichten der Lexicographen bei den betreffenden Untersuchungen gleiche Beachtung zu schenken, gebrochen haben." Müller, *B.-A.*, pp. 107, 108. "Diese Frage kann auch nicht entschieden werden durch den Hinweis auf irgend eine Nachricht eines späteren Lexikographen oder Grammatikers. Nur die Nachrichten welche wir den Stücken der grossen Tragiker und Komiker selbst entnehmen, und welche wir bei andern Schriftstellern des V. und IV. Jahrhunderts finden, können als entscheidend anerkannt werden." Dörpfeld, *Berliner Philol. Woch.*, 1890, p. 468. Haigh also attaches great value to the evidence supplied by the dramas, *A. T.*, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hermes*, XXI. (1886), "Die Bühne des Aischylos," by U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.

tophanes appear to prove decisively that in the fifth century the actors stood on a considerably higher level than the chorus." And finally: "The other theory, that during the fifth century actors and chorus were both in the orchestra and on the same level, appears to be conclusively disproved by certain passages in Aristophanes."<sup>1</sup>

The present paper states the results of a careful inspection of the comedies of Aristophanes made with the intention of testing what may perhaps properly be called Dr. Dörpfeld's theory. The results of this investigation amount to an argument in favor of the proposition, that *the Comedies of Aristophanes could not have been performed on the stage of Vitruvius*. This paper has, therefore, been cast in the argumentative form.<sup>2</sup>

#### POSITIVE TESTIMONY TO THE EXISTENCE OF A STAGE FURNISHED BY ARISTOPHANES.

There are certain passages in the great comedian in which the use of the terms ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν has been thought to prove the existence of a stage. Varying degrees of reliance, however, have been placed upon these by the advocates of the old theory.<sup>3</sup> These passages are five in number, as follows:

##### I. ΜΕΤΑΡΕΥΣ.

ἀλλ' ὦ πονηρὰ κόρια κάθλιώ πατρός,  
ἄμβρατε ποττᾶν μᾶδδαν, αἶ χ' εὐρηγέ πα.

Ach. 731, 732.

<sup>1</sup> *A. T.*, pp. 144, 146, 158.

<sup>2</sup> The statement of the investigation is here strictly limited to Aristophanes, because it seemed desirable to keep the facts to be deduced from the plays of each dramatist distinct. The results here presented, however, are confirmed by those reached by an investigation of the tragedians. This paper will be followed by two similar papers, the first stating the results of an inspection of the plays of Euripides, the second, of the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 110, for example, citing the last four passages quoted just below, thinks that Vesp. 1514, 1515, proves conclusively that the actor stood upon the stage, but says that 'elsewhere' καταβαίνειν signifies simply "abtreten," and correspondingly ἀναβαίνειν means "auftreten." On the other hand, Haigh, *A. T.*, p. 144, cites the same passages as proof that "the actors had been accustomed to stand on an elevated platform." The only passage of the four that is doubtful, in Mr. Haigh's view, is Vesp. 1514, 1515, but in this also he thinks that the literal meaning is much the more probable.

2.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ Α.

ὦ μακάριε  
ἀλλαντοπῶλα, δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὦ φίλτατε  
ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῦν φανείς.

Eq. 147-149.

3.

ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΩΝ.

ἀνάβαινε δεῦρο χρυσομηλολόνηθιον,  
τῇ χειρὶ τουδὶ λαβομένη τοῦ σχοινίου.  
ἔχου· φυλάττου δ', ὡς σαπρὸν τὸ σχοινίον.

Vesp. 1341-1343.

4.

ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΩΝ.

ἀτὰρ καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτούς μοι· σὺ δὲ  
ἄλμην κύκα τούτοισιν, ἣν ἐγὼ κρατῶ.

Vesp. 1514, 1515.

5.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

τί δῆτα διατρίβεις ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄγεις  
τασδὶ λαβών; ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ καταβαίνεις, ἐγὼ  
ἐπάσομαι μέλος τι μελλοδείπνικον.

Eccl. 1151-1153.

It will be observed that the reference in these passages is always to an actor (or mute), and that the terms are used, either just after an entrance (*ἀναβαίνειν*) or just before an exit (*καταβαίνειν*). The terms have commonly been interpreted to mean respectively, *come up* upon the stage, and *go* or *come down* into the orchestra.

The same words are often used in other passages in Aristophanes, but in different application.<sup>1</sup> These occurrences, therefore, have no direct bearing on the present discussion.

The text of all of the passages quoted is sound. If the ordinary interpretation of any one of them can be successfully maintained to the exclusion of any alternative view, the existence of a stage in the time of Aristophanes must be conceded.

An interesting scholium on the second of the passages quoted (Eq. 149) reads as follows: ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει: Ἴνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου ἐπὶ τὸ λογιεῖον ἀναβῇ. (διὰ τί οὖν ἐκ τῆς παρόδου; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι ἀναβαίνειν ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ λογιεῖον

<sup>1</sup> So *ἀναβαίνειν* Vesp. 398, Ran. 130, Frg. 329 (Kock); *καταβαίνειν* Ach. 409, Nub. 237, 508, Vesp. 347, 397, Pax 725, Lys. 864, 873, 874, 883, 884, Thes. 482, 483, Ran. 35.

εἰσιέναι. ὃ καὶ πρόσκειται. λέγεται γὰρ καταβαίνειν) τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους. (τούτον δὲ οἱ μὲν Κλεώνυμον, οἱ δὲ Ὑπέρβολον, οἱ δὲ φασιν Εὐβουλον εἶναι. ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαινε.)

The scholium is here given as printed in Dübner's edition. In Suidas the words read (s.v. ἀνάβαινε) : ἰστέον ὅτι ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ λόγιον εἰσιέναι ἀναβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν δὲ τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔθους. Ἀριστοφάνης “ἀλλαντοπῶλα, δεῦρο δεῦρ’, ὦ φίλτατε, ἀνάβαινε σωτὴρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῶν φανείς.”

The scholium is clear. It should be noted first that both scholiasts assume that there was a stage in the poet's time.<sup>1</sup> The point under contention is simply whether Agoracritus came in through the parodos and mounted the stage, or came in through one of the wings, where, as both of the scholiasts would have agreed, the actor almost invariably made his appearance, if he did not come directly from the σκηνή. The second scholiast corrects the other, and says : “It should be understood that *to come in upon the stage* was called ‘ascending,’ just as *to retire from it* was called ‘descending.’ This use of the words arose from the ancient practice.” What he denies is that ἀναβαίνειν signified “to come *up* on the stage.” Here then is a commentator who believed, as the moderns also generally have believed, that there was a stage in the time of Aristophanes, transmitting the tradition that the words ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν when thus used by the poet had lost all sense of elevation and descent.<sup>2</sup> Before Aristophanes's time they had become technical ‘stage’ terms.<sup>3</sup> This came about, he says, “from the ancient practice.” He is referring to the tradition that when tragedy arose from the dithyrambic chorus and a ‘speaker’ was first introduced, the latter took his place upon the elevation afforded by the so-called ἔλεος or θυμέλη.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the scholiast on Ran. 181 and 297.

<sup>2</sup> This use of the words has its parallel in the celebrated court-scene in the Wasps. It is hardly possible that βήματα were brought on with the other court-apprutenances, but the technical words are nevertheless used, ἀναβαίνειν in 905, 944, 963, 977, καταβαίνειν in 799, 980, 981.

<sup>3</sup> This is the point of view from which the last words of the scholium are used, ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαινε. That θυμέλη here means ‘stage’ is clear from the scholium on Av. 673, ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ γὰρ προσωπεῖον ἐξήλθεν ἔχουσα (speaking of Procne).

<sup>4</sup> Poll. IV. 123 : ἐλεὺς δ’ ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ’ ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χερυταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο. Cf. also Et. M., p. 458, 30.

The scholiast in V, then, offers an alternative to the common interpretation of ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν. He transmits an ancient tradition which gives the words a meaning that, if applicable to Aristophanes, destroys their force as an argument to prove the existence of a stage in his time. In determining whether or not there was a stage, we are then thrown back upon other internal evidence. If this evidence proves that there was no stage, we shall naturally attach to the words in the period when there was no stage the meaning for which the scholiast vouches in a later, though still early, time, since in the sense of 'enter' and 'retire' they are precisely as applicable to the scenic action in the period when there was no stage as in the somewhat later time of which the scholiast speaks.<sup>1</sup>

The passages will now be considered in order. In the Knights, the Sausage-seller is espied (v. 146) at the left, and Demosthenes calls out, "O come in, come in!" In the passage quoted from the Acharnians, the girls are following their father, who says to them as he advances to a central position, "Ye poor bairns of an unlucky father, come on and get your bannock, an ye find it anywhere." In the first passage quoted from the Wasps, Philocleon comes in 'fighting drunk,' torch in hand. He rails at the crowd that follows. The συμπότης, whose party he has broken up, make threats of consequences on the morrow and retire. The old man is left in posses-

<sup>1</sup> Three periods must be recognized: the earliest time, when the actor stood on the ἔλεος; the classical time, when he stood in front of the proscenium; the Macedonian epoch, when, with the loss of the chorus and the general vitiation of public taste, he did doubtless stand upon it. In the first period, ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν meant 'ascend' and 'descend'; in both the second and the third, 'enter' and 'retire.' In the first period, ἀνδβαίνειν and κατδβαίνειν, applied to the original 'speaker' and to the first actor of Thespis, who doubtless took the same position, actually did mean 'ascend' and 'descend.' But with the introduction of the second actor, when the dialogue became independent of the chorus, and a complete story was acted from beginning to end, involving many 'mounts' and 'descents,' the elevation disappeared as an impossible contrivance. This is the second period, of which the scholiast had no knowledge. It is surely not without significance that just at this time Aeschylus invented what were in effect a means of compensation for the loss of the elevation, — the cothurn, the high mask, the padded figure, equipped with which in tragedy the actor stood out distinct from the members of the chorus. The terms might still be used in a technical sense when the actor made his entrance or exit. Under just what circumstances they were so used will be noted later. See p. 170 f. They occur, in fact, only in comedy.



sion of the field, with the girl (*αἰληρίς*) whom he has carried off. The scene has been a spirited one *entirely at the right*. The *συνπότεται* have appeared and disappeared. Then the old man *backs on the scene* toward the centre, saying to the girl, who has been standing at one side and who is apparently reluctant to come forward, "Come on here! Lay hold on this old 'rope.' But be on your guard, for the 'rope' is rotten." The following verses show what the action was. The *σχαινίον* was the *σκυτίον καθειμένον* with which every comic actor who played a man's part was equipped. Philocleon pulls the girl in in a manner that did undoubtedly "provoke the laughter of the boys."<sup>1</sup> It will be agreed at once that the problem of the scenic action is made enormously difficult by the supposition that Philocleon is on a lofty 'stage' and Dardanis down below in the orchestra! And yet this view has been seriously advanced.<sup>2</sup>

In the first of the two passages where *καταβαίνειν* occurs, the word is used in a metaphorical, not in a literal sense. *καταβαίνειν* here means *in certamen descendere*, as is now generally agreed. The word occurs in this sense in Herodotus, Sophocles, Xenophon, and Plato,<sup>3</sup> and this sense exactly suits the connexion here.

Certain preliminary considerations are necessary to the interpretation of the second of the two passages where *καταβαίνειν* occurs in the apparent sense of 'descend' (Eccl. 1152).

It should be observed that the codices assign nothing to Blepyrus after verse 1150. He has something still to do, but nothing further to say. To assign to him any part of the lyric which begins at 1163 is a mischievous modern fiction. This belongs to the chorus, and R assigns it in four parts to semichoruses. Again, in 1138 *μείρακας* cannot refer to the chorus, as the scholiast says that it does. The chorus are women of the age of Praxagora, and they are spoken of as *γυναῖκες*. So by Praxagora in 504; by the maid in 1125; by themselves in 1164. But *μείραξ* in Aristophanes signifies *young girl, lass*. Cf. Thes. 410 (unmarried), Eccl. 611, 696 (*ώραία*), Plut. 1071, 1079

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nub. 538, 539, Ach. 1216, 1217 (a similar scene), Nub. 734, Vesp. 739, Thes. 643 ff., et pass. See also Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 246 f.

<sup>2</sup> "Alloquitur scortillum illud, quod in convivio arreptum sequi se jussit, et e loco sublimi stans blande appellat et ascendere hortatur." Chrestien.

<sup>3</sup> This sense was recognized early. Cf. Suidas (s.v. *κατάβα*): καὶ καταβαίνειν τὸ εἰς ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν. "ἐνταῦθα καταβαίνει παραβαλλόμενος."

(note especially). It is equally clear that *τασδί* in 1152 cannot refer to the chorus. The leader of the chorus would have said *ἡμᾶς*, as universally, and certainly would not have excluded herself. *τασδί* refers to the *μείρακες*. Besides the chorus, the maid, and Blepyrus, then, the presence of others on the scene must be recognized, — of the dancing-girls whom Blepyrus is bringing to the dinner.

Again, the language in 1153 should be noted. The chorus says *ἐπῄσομαι*, which means not simply "sing," but "sing in accompaniment." Cf. Eur. Elec. 864, Hdt. i. 132. On the old view the words would have the absurd and impossible meaning, "As you descend from the stage, I'll accompany you with a bit of a song"! Just here an acute observation made by von Velsen is pertinent. In accounting for the omission of the chorus following 1111 he says: "*ΧΟΡΟΥ* adieci editores secutus, quamquam ipse magis in eam sententiam inclino, ut omnibus illis locis non cantus, sed solas saltationes chori fuisse putem." The close of the play, which is exactly similar to the close of the Wasps, confirms this view. The poet furnishes, for the further delight of his audience, an elaborate dance performed by specialists. These are the *μείρακες*.

The last scene of the play, then, is as follows. The maid comes in (1112) from the dinner to fetch her master. Her language shows that she is tipsy. In reply to her question where her master is, the chorus answer, with comic recognition of the situation, "No doubt he'll turn up shortly." He does appear at once with the *μείρακες*. The poet has a special purpose in producing them, but aside from this their presence with Blepyrus is perfectly motivated. Such *ὀρχηστρίδες* were among the commonest means of entertainment at an Athenian dinner. The maid addresses her master in lively and jovial language. He is in quite the same mood, cracks his joke, and says he is 'off.' With the words in 1149, 1150 the 'business' of the play is practically at an end. Only the 'exeunt omnes' remains. It is at this point that the chorus say, "Why, then, don't you take these girls and go? And *as you retire*, I'll accompany you with song in anticipation of our dinner." Blepyrus brings forward the dancers, and after a word from the coryphaeus to the judges, the orchestric performance begins. The first semichorus joyously sing that dinner waits, and exhort the second semichorus to the dance; they, with the words *τοῦτο δρῶ* (1166), execute a movement simply to the

music of the flute; then follows the special dance of the *μείπakes* (who certainly are referred to by *τάσδε* in 1166), accompanied by the song of the first semichorus. In this song occurs that extraordinary compound in whose invention the rioting humour of the poet vies with his dancers for the favour of the audience. With the following song of the second semichorus, all finally leave the theatre at the right, dancing, led by Blepyrus.

If this explanation of the five passages is correct, these are the results. It is shown that the old interpretation of the terms ('ascend' and 'descend') is impossible for the Vitruvian stage in the third and fifth passages; moreover, in the fifth, that the sense 'retire' is also impossible in the scholiast's application of the meaning, since actors and chorus are on a level. The last passage, therefore, is positive proof against the existence of a stage.

The words *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* (old-fashioned terms, come down from the fathers), when thus employed, are always used with a special touch of humour. By their use the speaker reminds the audience, in the good-natured way characteristic of comedy,<sup>1</sup> that he and his fellows are 'on the boards.' When there is no such intention, the ordinary words to express 'approach' and 'departure' are used, generally *προσιέναι* and *προσέρχεσθαι*, or *ἀπιέναι*.<sup>2</sup> But many others occur. In no one of them, however, is there the least indication of change of level. The plays are full of illustrations. The following, for example, occur in the *Birds*. The case, it will be re-

<sup>1</sup> The humorous way in which the comic actor takes the spectators into his confidence in openly recognizing the theatre and its appurtenances has many illustrations in comedy. Thus, the jokes by direct reference to the *ἐκκύκλημα*, Ach. 408, 409, Thes. 96, 265, cf. Vesp. 1475; the reference to the 'scenes,' Pax 731; to the *εἰσόδος*, Nub. 326, Av. 296; to the statue of Hermes in front of the proscenium, Nub. 1478; to the seats, Eq. 163, 704, Nub. 1203; to the mask-makers, Eq. 232; to the scene-shifter, Pax 174; to the constables, Pax 774; to the choragus, Ach. 1155, Pax 1022. The references to the poet, to individuals in the audience, to the audience collectively, to the judges, are very numerous. Of the same general intent is the express recognition by the chorus at the close of the plays that they have been furnishing the spectators entertainment, as Nub. 1510, Vesp. 1536, 1537, Pax 1355-1357, Thes. 1227.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Droysen, *Quaestiones de Aristophanis Re Scaenica*, who has collected the instances, as also those where an actor enters or leaves by the main scene. The terms used in this case are generally *εἰσιέναι* and *ἐξίέναι*.

membered, is always that of an *actor* approaching or leaving by a side entrance (or more probably by the *parodos*). To express *approach* in the *Birds*, we have ἤκειν, 992, 1022, 1038, 1587; τρέχειν, 1121; ἐσθεῖν, 1169; προσίέναι, 1312; προσέρχεσθαι, 1341, 1414, 1709. To express *departure* we find βαδίζειν, 837; ἰέναι, 846, 990; ἀπέρχεσθαι, 948 (bis); ἐκτρέχειν, 991; ὑπαποκινεῖν, 1011; ὑπάγειν, 1017; ἀπιέναι, 1020, 1026, 1029, 1636; ἀποσοβεῖν, 1032; ἀποτρέχειν, 1162, 1549; ἀποπέρεσθαι, 1369.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing interpretation of ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν is powerfully supported by the negative consideration that *they are applied only to actors, never to the chorus*. And yet, on the old view, we should expect the words to be used of the movements of the chorus rather than of those of the actor. For assuming for a moment the existence of a stage, for the sake of the argument, the case stands thus. There is only one place in Aristophanes (Plut. 253 ff.) where it is necessary to assume that an actor comes in through the *parodos*.<sup>2</sup> He may come on through the wings. This is the view of the second scholiast on Eq. 149, who certainly thought that there was a stage. The actor, then, is on the 'stage' from the first, and the word ἀναβαίνειν in the sense of "come up from below" could not properly be applied to him. But the chorus are incontrovertibly on a lower level, in the case assumed, and as incontrovertibly in many instances they mount the 'stage,' that is, come to the main scene of the action. Instances of this in seven of the eleven plays are cited below. Now it is

<sup>1</sup> Those who believe that ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν signify 'ascend' and 'descend' may well be called upon to explain why the actor is brought in only a few times through the *parodos*, but in so many other instances through the 'wings.' What discoverable reason is there for making the place of entrance of the Megarian and his girls in the *Acharnians* (729 ff.) different from that of the Boeotian and his servant (860 ff.)? Or that of Xanthias in the *Wasps* (1292 ff.) different from that of Philocleon and Dardanis (1326 ff.)? But Schönborn (*Die Skene der Hellenen*), Droysen, and others invariably bring in the actor by the 'wings' unless they are forced to adopt the alternative.

<sup>2</sup> Not that, on the assumption that there was no stage, this may not naturally have happened. If the stage is abandoned, the setting of all of the plays will be much simplified. This is not the place in which to illustrate the bearings of this important fact, but see Dr. Dörpfeld's brilliant picture of the scene and action of the *Agamemnon*, as given by Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 292 f.

extraordinary that the chorus should be exhorted or should exhort one another to mount the 'stage,' as it is said, or should be ordered off the 'stage' down into the orchestra, and yet that the terms *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* should never be applied to them, although applied to the actor in similar circumstances. The words used are very different. They are never terms *implying change of level*. For example, in the Wasps, the old dicasts, when they make their attack upon Bdelycleon, who is directly in front of the main scene, that is, on the stage if there is a stage, say *πᾶς ἐπίστρεφε δέυρο* (422) and *εἰτ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴσο* (423). When they are driven off, the words are *οὐκ ἄπιτε*; (458) and *ἄρ' ἐμέλλομέν ποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσοβήσιν τῷ χρόνῳ* (460). So in the Birds the exhortation to attack is *ὦ ἰώ, ἐπαγ' ἐπιθ' ἐπίφερε πολέμιον ὄρνιν φονίαν* (343 f.); and a little later *ἐλελε-λεῦ χώρει* (364). The chorus fall back with the words *ἀναγ' ἐς τάξιν* (400). In the Peace, Hermes exhorts the chorus, *εἰσιόντες ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλκετε* (427), and the word used to express their falling back is *ἀπέναι* (550).<sup>1</sup> Illustrations need not be multiplied. The poet's actual choice of words in these situations shows first that the exhortation or command cannot have been to mount a 'stage' or go down from it, but to come forward between the wings and, again, retire; and amounts secondly almost to a conclusive proof that the terms *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* cannot have had the signification in application to the actor that has generally been given them.

POSITIVE TESTIMONY AGAINST THE EXISTENCE OF A STAGE FURNISHED  
BY ARISTOPHANES.

The facts will, for convenience, be presented under the following heads, although the divisions are not strictly coördinate, and the facts presented under the different heads are not mutually exclusive.

- I. The Argument from Mingling of Chorus and Actors.
- II. The Argument from the Close of the Plays.
- III. The Argument from Impossible Situations.
- IV. The Argument from the Over-crowded 'Stage.'
- V. The Argument from Probability.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 109, declares that the *language* in Pax 564, 565, shows that the actors were on a higher level than the chorus! That he should advance this seriously as an argument is past belief.

I. *Argument from Mingling of Chorus and Actors.*

In twenty-five situations in the plays of Aristophanes the chorus and actors (or mutes associated with the actors, or — in one instance — a musician who comes from among the actors) are at a given moment on the same level. In eleven of them, on the old theory, the chorus are on the 'stage'; in fourteen, actors, mutes, or a musician, are in the orchestra.

The argument from these instances will stand thus. If the facts are as stated, the burden of proof rests on those who believe in the existence of a stage to show that the given situation is, so far as a common level is concerned, not the situation throughout the play. If nothing in the language or course of the action prior or subsequent to these situations indicates that there has been a change of level, we have proof that the 'stage' in Aristophanes is a fiction, unless we either deny in the first eleven instances that the chorus entered by the orchestra or assert for all of them that Aristophanes, generally so careful in furnishing motive for introits and exits, allowed these changes of level to occur without intimation.

*Chorus on the same level with Actors.*

I. ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ.

οὗτος σὺ ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ μενεῖς; ὥς εἰ θενεῖς  
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, αὐτὸς ἀρθήσει τάχα.

Ach. 564, 565.

The first semichorus are about to *strike* Dicaeopolis, when the second violently interfere. *θείνειν* signifies in Aristophanes and elsewhere to strike with some part of the person or with something in the hand.<sup>1</sup> Before the great Euripidean scene, when the intention of the chorus was to *stone* Dicaeopolis, the words used were *βάλλω*, *παίω* (once), and *καταλεύω* (or an equivalent expression).

2. ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἔχε νυν, ἄλειψον τὸν τράχηλον τουτ' ὧ.  
ἔχε νυν, ἐπέγκαψον λαβὼν ταδί.

Eq. 490 and 493.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eq. 640, Vesp. 1384, Av. 54, 1613, Lys. 364, 821, Ran. 855 (metaphorical).

These verses are assigned to the chorus in R V A P M Γ Θ. The editors, following Enger, assign them to Οικέτης A, doubtless because of the extreme difficulty of the scenic situation on the supposition of a stage. This sort of error is wide-spread in the texts. Other instances will be noted below. The scholiast explains the action: *στέρar διδοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἀλείφεσθαι, ἵνα εὐχερῶς ὀλισθαίνειν δύνῃται.* And again: *σκόροdon αὐτῷ προσφέρει. ὃ φασὶ δεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιφαγεῖν.*

3. ΧΟΡΟΣ.  
ἀπαρυστέον τε τῶν ἀπειλῶν ταυτηί.

Eq. 921, 922.

All the codices give the words to the chorus; Bergk, Kock, von Velsen to the ἀλλαντοπώλης, doubtless for the reason mentioned above. The coryphaeus at this point jocosely hands Agoracritus a ζωμήρυσις.

4. ΘΙΑΟΚΛΕΩΝ.  
οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸν πρωκτὸν αὐτῶν ἐσπέτεσθ' ὠργισμένοι,  
οἱ δὲ τῷ φθαλμῷ 'ν κύκλῳ κεντεῖτε καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους.

ΒΑΣΕΥΚΛΕΩΝ.  
οὐχὶ σοῦσθ'; οὐκ ἐς κόρακας; οὐκ ἄπιτε; παῖε τῷ ξύλῳ.  
Vesp. 431, 432, and 458.

At the close of this spirited scene, Xanthias does as he is ordered, and clubs the chorus.

5. ΕΡΜΗΣ.  
ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἄμαις  
εἰσιόντες ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλκετε.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.  
ὑπότεινε δὴ πᾶς καὶ κατάγε τοῖσιν κάλῃς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.  
ἀλλ' ἄγετον νῦν ἔλκετε καὶ σφῶ.

ΤΡΥΤΑΙΟΣ.  
οὐκουν ἔλκω κἀξαρτῶμαι  
κἀπεμπίπτω καὶ σπονδάζω;

Pax 426, 427; 458, and 469-471.

The chorus, Hermes, and Trygaeus are all pulling at once on the ropes by which the great statue of Peace is finally brought to light. The chorus takes part in the libation, 431-457.<sup>1</sup>

6.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ.

οὐ γάρ, οἵτινες

ἡμῶν καταχρόντων ὕδωρ τσοσυντονί

ἐς ταῦτὸ τοῦθ' ἐστᾶσ' ἰόντες χωρίον;

Pax 970-972.

The servant has doused the chorus (τοισδί, 969), who stand about those engaged in the sacrifice, and join in the prayers offered. The dousing scene is similar to that in Lys. 381 ff., where the semi-choruses are on the same level. See below, p. 185. See also the use of καταχέω in Plut. 790.

7.

ΤΡΥΓΑΙΟΣ.

ἀλλ' ὃ πρὸ τοῦ πεινῶντες ἐμβάλλεσθε τῶν λαγῶν.

Pax 1312.

The kitchen scene begins at 1191. Cf. 1197. Trygaeus is about to go within to the dinner that has been made ready. The chorus

<sup>1</sup> I conceive that the second scene in the Peace was managed as follows: Trygaeus mounts skyward on his beetle. The girls and servants go within (149),—an important fact to note. In mid-air Trygaeus chants the verses that give the scene-shifter the time needed for the change of scene. Trygaeus actually addresses him in appealing language (174). The new scene is suspended, as was the old one, on the wall of the proscenium. It represents the *oikla* of Zeus (178), in front of which the scene-shifter and the attendants pile a heap of stones, unless indeed these were already there, concealed during the first scene by the wall of the beetle-pen. The beetle gently descends to the floor of the orchestra. Trygaeus dismounts. He is now *ἐν οὐρανῷ*. The scene thus conceived can be perfectly managed during the following action. Thus, Trygaeus announces the hour has come to haul Peace out of the pit in which War has immured her (292 ff.), and summons the chorus, who come followed by a great crowd. Hermes, finally won over, himself lends a hand (416, 417), and takes direction of the work. He bids the chorus and their followers come in (*εἰσόδντες*, that is, to the space between the wings) and shovel away the stones (427). This they do, and when the libation has been made and the ropes have been adjusted, they all pull to the "Yo, heave ho!" of Hermes (459 ff.). Finally the others are pushed aside and the chorus of farmers pull alone (508 ff.). And so the action continues in the simplest manner possible.—In one other play of Aristophanes the scene is changed with an actor present, namely, the Frogs, in which the poet had resort to a moving scene.



are invited (cf. 1305-1310) to fall to on whatever has been left in the kitchen of the dishes that have been prepared.

8. ΧΟΡΟΣ.  
 ἐλελεῦ χώρει κάθες τὸ ῥάμφος· οὐ μέλλειν ἐχρῆν.  
 ἔλκε τίλλε παῖε δεῖρε, κόπτε πρῶτην τὴν χύτραν.

Av. 364, 365.

The pots are on the old fellows' heads.

9. ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ.  
 κἂν μὴ καλούντων τοὺς μοχλοὺς χαλῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες,  
 ἐμπιμπράναι χρῆ τὰς θύρας καὶ τῷ καπνῷ πύζειν.

Lys. 310, 311.

The old men are *just in front* of the main scene, from which Lysistrata enters at 430. Here they intend to set their fire going.<sup>1</sup>

10. ΘΕΣΜΟΡΗΝ.  
 νῆ τὸν Δί' ὥς ἦδη γε χωροῦσ' ἐνδοθεν.

Lys. 1241.

The persons who appear are Lysistrata, a semichorus of Lacedaemonians, and a semichorus of Athenians. They come directly from the main scene, the gates of the Acropolis.

<sup>1</sup> The language of 286-288 (note *σμήν*) seems at the first glance to indicate a change of level, but only at the first glance. These verses are part of a lyric strophe, which is followed immediately by the antistrophe. Four such lyric numbers occur after the entrance of the chorus of old men before they turn to the main scene and at 306 (the verses beginning here are iambic tetrameters) proceeded to execute the purpose for which they came. During these lyrics the old men are in the orchestra. They certainly cannot be mounting the stairway that leads to the 'stage.' The language in 286-288 is perfectly justified by the scene, which represents the approach to the Acropolis, with the wall above. (Lysistrata and other women appear here in the course of the action on *top* of the proscenium, 829 ff.) That the poet was thus able, assisted by the painted scene, safely to appeal to the imagination of his audience finds striking confirmation in the Thesmophoriazusae. The second scene of this play is the Thesmophorium, which stood on high ground. Mnesilochus, announcing the coming of the chorus, says (281), *ἔσονται τὸ χρῆμα' ἀνέρχεται ὑπὸ τῆς λίγνης*. But the chorus are coming into the orchestra on a dead level. Compounds of *ἀνά* are used also in 585, 623, 893, 1045.

11. Thes. 730-738.

During the time that intervenes between the exit and reappearance of the First Woman with her servant, the chorus are left in guard of Mnesilochus, who has fled to the altar in the Thesmophorium. The chorus have been implored for help in 696-698. *They* give the advice to set him afire in 726, 727. He will be free to fly while the First Woman is off the scene, if the chorus do not guard him. The Third Woman is set to guard him (762-764) when the First Woman leaves the scene a second time to go to the prytanes. The certain conclusion from this last situation is that there was no one present competent to keep watch during her first absence except the chorus, and that the poet who provided for the second case would not have neglected the first. The chorus are free during the following scene to bring on the parabasis. During the first scene, while the chorus is in charge of Mnesilochus, there is no lyric number.

*Actors, Mutes, or a Musician on the same level with the Chorus.*

12.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ.

ἔπεσθέ νυν ᾄδοντες ὦ τήνελλα καλλίνικος.

Ach. 1231.

Dicaeopolis, the two girls (1200), and the chorus leave the theatre together.

13.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ.

ἡττήμεθ' ὧ κινούμενοι  
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν δέξασθέ μου  
βοιμάτιον, ὡς  
ἐξαυτομολῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

Nub. 1102-1104.

For a discussion of the action here, see below under 20.

14.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ' ὀρχούμενοι, θύραζε  
ἡμᾶς ταχύ· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,  
ὀρχούμενος ὅστις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρυγῶδων.

Vesp. 1535-1537.

Philocleon, the three sons of Carcinus, Xanthias, and the chorus leave the theatre together. On the force of *καταβατέον* in 1514, see above, p. 168.

15.

ΤΡΥΓΑΙΟΣ.

δεῦρο σύ·

καταθήσομαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐς μέσους ἄγων.

ἀλλ' ὦ πρυνταῖς δέχεσθε τὴν Θεωρίαν.

θᾶσ' ὡς προθύμως ὁ πρύντις παρεδέξατο.

Pax 881, 882, and 906, 907.

For a discussion of the action here, see below under 20.

16.

ΤΡΥΓΑΙΟΣ.

καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥίπτε τῶν κριθῶν.

ΟΙΚΕΤΗΣ.

ἰδοῦ.

Pax 962.

For a discussion of the action here, see below under 20.

17.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

ἀλλ' ἀράμενοι φέρωμεν οἱ προτεταγμένοι τὸν νυμφίον, ὦνδρες.

Pax 1339-1341.

Trygaeus, Opora, and the chorus leave the theatre together.

18. Av. 665-684.

The flute-player enters from the main scene, is engaged first with the actors present, and then passes to the chorus and plays the accompaniment to the parabasis.

19. Av. 1706-1765.

Note especially 1721, 1722, and 1755. Peithetaerus, the Princess, the Messenger, and the chorus leave the theatre together.

20.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ.

ἱερεῦ διαφύλαξόν μ', ἵν' ὦ σοι ξυμπότης.

Ran. 297.

Compare the passages quoted above in 13, 15, 16. The situation in these four places is practically the same, that of an actor or mute

very near the spectators or actually among them. In discussing it, we must free ourselves, if possible, of a very natural prepossession in favour of a stage. This prepossession seems to have affected the views of commentators, who show a strong disposition not to take the poet literally, in the face of the utmost directness of language.<sup>1</sup> Certainly a stage so far removed from the spectators interposes a great barrier to the action which the language of the poet seems naturally to demand. The scholiast on *Ran.* 297 felt the difficulty of the situation: ἐν προεδρίᾳ κάθηται ὁ τοῦ Διὸς (sic) ἱερεὺς. ἀποροῦσι δέ τινες πῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ λογείου περιελθὼν καὶ κρυφθεὶς ὅπισθεν τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦτο λέγει. φαίνονται δὲ οὐκ εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ λογείου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Διόνυσος ἐνέβη καὶ ὁ πλοῦς ἐπετελείτο. This is a telling concession, and it comes early.

The poet expresses himself in the four passages quoted above in language that is direct and unequivocal. In the *Clouds*, where, as the previous verses make it certain, the address is to the spectators,<sup>2</sup> the Just Logic cries, "Ye blackguards, in God's name take my cloak, for I desert to you." The natural inference is that he tosses them his outer garment and disappears among them, up the stairway between the wedges of seats. *ἐξαντομολῶ* might mean simply "come over to your side," but no such interpretation of the previous words is possible. One does not deal metaphorically with a cloak.<sup>3</sup>

Again, in the *Peace*, with the words *δεῦρο* σύ Trygaeus is addressing Theoria. He has said (871, 872) that he intends to hand her over to the Senate, and has appealed in vain for some 'honest' man

<sup>1</sup> To cite a single case (Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 109<sup>8</sup>): "In allen diesen Fällen bleiben die Schauspieler auf der Bühne; es handelt sich hier nur um eine Eigenthümlichkeit der Aristophanischen Komik, der zufolge der Dichter gern das Publikum in die Handlung des Stücks hineinzieht." So indeed the poet does, and to a much greater degree than Müller is willing — or is able, with his awkward modern contrivance of a stage before a stage — to allow. Müller cites here the passages numbered 15, 16, 20 above.

<sup>2</sup> There is only one real 'blackguard' on the scene, it will be observed, namely the False Logic.

<sup>3</sup> But nevertheless resort has been had to metaphor, so difficult is the situation in these passages on the assumption of a stage. See G. Hermann ad loc.: "Nam ubi omnia plena videt mollium et effeminatorum hominum, perniciem sibi metuens, ni horum partibus accedat, simulat se vestem iis transmissurum esse, quo expeditior ipse ad eorum gregem perfugere possit."

to come forward and take her in charge. Then he says, "Come here. I'll lead you into their midst myself and deposit you among them." This is not the language of a man who remains standing upon a distant stage. Trygaeus hereupon makes the actor who plays the part of Theoria strip to his *σωμάτιον*, and describes the 'maid's' charms at length. And then, "Good Prytanes receive Theoria. *See how eagerly the Prytanis took her from me!*" Again the natural inference is that the 'girl,' amidst the shouts of the crowd, imposes herself upon the Prytanis, as if he really were eager to receive her, and presently, as in the Clouds, disappears from view. The actors and chorus immediately turn to other 'business.' If it is said that the scene is too broad even for the comic stage, a strikingly parallel scene may be cited. At the end of the Acharnians Dicaeopolis is undoubtedly in the orchestra. In his drunken good humour he says, *ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεύς; ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἀσκόν* (1224, 1225), that is, *reddite ut debitum*, where *ἀπόδοτε* makes it clear that the *ἀσκός* is not yet in his possession, and that the command cannot be addressed to his attendants as such. Presently he receives the *ἀσκός*, for the chorus say (1230), *χώραι λαβὼν τὸν ἀσκόν*. It came into his hands in some manner that involved, doubtless to his confusion and to the amusement of the crowd, the *ἀρχων βασιλεύς*, who as director of the Lenaeon festival would be prominent in the theatre.<sup>1</sup> It is dangerous to say what sort of a scene would be too broad for Attic comedy, and prudence may prompt us to inquire whether in scenes like these our judgment has not been controlled by our prepossessions.

In the Peace occurs also the passage where the servant attending Trygaeus at the sacrifice is bidden, "Now throw some barley-corns to the spectators," and answers, "I have done it." He did not throw the barley-corns, of course, across the whole space of the orchestra intervening between the 'stage' and the seats. If it is urged that this is a bit of pantomime to introduce the following joke, the answer is ready that just this thing was often done in the theatre. In the Wasps (58, 59) the poet says,

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<sup>1</sup> Here again the possibility of taking the situation literally is denied by the commentators. For example, "Adesse ergo *funguntur* archon βασιλεύς appellatus et certaminis potatorii arbitri, a quibus ut victor utrem vini accipit (v. 1230)." Blaydes.

ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' οὔτε κάρυ' ἐκ φορμίδος  
δούλω διαρριπτοῦντε τοῖς θεωμένοις,

verses that make it clear that his contemporaries resorted to this device in order to win the favour of the crowd, and again in the Plutus (797-799),

οὐ γὰρ πρεπῶδές ἐστι τῷ διδασκάλῳ  
ισχάδια καὶ τρωγάλια τοῖς θεωμένοις  
προβαλόντ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν.

The commentators on the passage in the Frogs are generally agreed that the priest addressed was the priest of Dionysus actually present in the most conspicuous seat in the theatre.<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the priest also in 308, who is there said to have shown great concern for his god! It is clear that Dionysus runs away at 297, for Xanthias calls to him presently (301), δεῦρο δεῦρ' ὦ δέσποτα. He must have run to the priest on whom he had called. And the scene gains immensely in effect if the action is thus interpreted. There is not the least difficulty in doing this, except that caused by the assumption of a stage.

21. ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ.  
φαίνετε τοίνυν ὑμεῖς τούτῳ  
λαμπάδας ἱεράς, χάμα προπέμπετε  
τοῖσιν τούτου τούτον μέλεσιν  
καὶ μολπαῖσιν κελαδοῦντες.

Ran. 1524-1527.

Aeschylus, Dionysus, and the chorus leave the theatre together.

<sup>1</sup> So Brunck: "Histrio, qui Bacchum agebat, hunc versum proferens ad Liberi sacerdotem se convertebat, cui ob dignitatis praerogativam in Liberalium celebratione sedes erat in theatri loco maxime conspicuo." Kock: "Wie sonst, zumal in Gefahren, der Priester zu seinem Gotte fleht, so wendet sich hier der Gott an seinen Priester, der bei den Festen des Dionysos die Proëdrie hat." Kock does not believe Enger's assumption, that Dionysus actually leaves the stage and goes to the priest, but confesses that he is at a loss to explain what really happened: "Allerdings bin ich auch nicht im Stande die Vorgänge auf der Bühne während dieses und der folgenden Verse genügend zu erklären." Merry: "The priest of Dionysus sat in a conspicuous place in the theatre; and Dionysus rushes across the stage to get his protection." So many others.

22.

ΠΡΑΞΑΓΟΡΑ.

καὶ μέντοι σὺ μὲν  
ταύτας κατεντρέπιζε.

Eccl. 509, 510.

The women have returned from the assembly. Praxagora and the women immediately with her have already freed themselves from the gear they had borrowed from their husbands (503). The chorus are about to do so, and Praxagora urges haste. "Cast aside your mantles! Off with your shoes! Fling away your staves!" And then, καὶ μέντοι σὺ μὲν ταύτας κατεντρέπιζε, "and do *you* put these again in order." Whom is Praxagora addressing? Not the leader of the chorus nor any member of the chorus, for their answer is a reply to her command that they shall cast aside their trappings, not to her direction that these shall be put in order. Their answer (514) involves a fixed formula, and is correctly interpreted by Blaydes, "ecce humi iacent omnia quae dixisti." Praxagora must be addressing one of her attendants. Orders are constantly so given in Aristophanes to servants, the name not being added. Cf. Pax 937, 956, 960, 961, 1100, 1193, Av. 435, 947, 958, 1309, etc. The attendant, in order to obey the command of her mistress, must pass to the spot where the chorus have flung aside their mantles, shoes, and staves; that is, she must be in the orchestra. That the actors are here on the same level with the chorus, is confirmed by the relation of chorus and actors at the beginning of the play. See below, p. 199 f.

23. Eccl. 1151 ff.

Blepyrus, the maid, the dancing girls, and the chorus all leave the theatre together. See the discussion of this passage, pp. 168-170.

24. Plut. 253 ff.

Carion has been sent to fetch the chorus (223-228). He and the chorus enter the orchestra together at 253, conversing as they come. They presently dance, Carion leading off (290 ff.).

25.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

δεῖ γὰρ κατόπιν τούτων ἄδοντας ἔπεσθαι.

Plut. 1209.

Chremylus, the priest, Plutus, the old woman, and the chorus leave the theatre together.

These, then, are the twenty-five instances where chorus and actors (or mutes or a musician) are on the same level. The situation occurs at least once in each of the eleven plays. Perhaps the fact of a common level for chorus and actors will not be conceded in some of the instances. But the number will still remain astonishingly large, and many of them are of great importance in the action of the play, since frequently the situation is continued and involves many persons.

It may be affirmed with confidence that nothing in the language or course of the action prior or subsequent to these situations proves that there has been a change of level. (See p. 173.) There is not even an indication of such a change. In the first eleven instances, where the chorus come to the actors, it will doubtless at once be granted that the entrance of the chorus upon the scene must have been made through the *parodos*. If we still maintain that there was a stage, we are then forced in all of the instances to believe that Aristophanes, who motives *introits* and *exits* with such care, allowed these changes of level to occur without intimation. And this will be urged by those who still believe that in five cases he has been careful to indicate the ascent or descent of the actor in a similar situation.

It is of great importance to observe that the argument holds, even if we abandon the Vitruvian stage, and reduce the height of the stage, as Mr. Haigh has suggested, to six or seven feet. The argument holds against *any* stage that demands a stairway. The only stage that would not give serious offence would be one raised only a single step above the level of the orchestra. And this would be a *reductio ad—nihil!*

## II. *Argument from the Close of the Plays.*

It is noteworthy that many of the situations just cited occur at the close of the play.<sup>1</sup> In all but three of the plays the chorus and actors go off together.<sup>2</sup> These three are the *Knights*, the *Clouds*,

<sup>1</sup> For the *Acharnians*, see p. 177; *Wasps*, p. 177; *Peace*, p. 178; *Birds*, p. 178; *Lysistrata*, pp. 176 and 186 f.; *Frogs*, p. 181; *Ecclesiazusae*, p. 182; *Plutus*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> And yet Mr. Haigh says (*A. T.* p. 178) that instances where the actors made their exit by the orchestra are only rarely to be met with. In the eight cases just cited the evidence that the actors did make their exit through the orchestra is certain. If Mr. Haigh is referring to the exits of single actors in the course of the play, he is begging the question, so far as proof that can be adduced *from the plays themselves* is concerned. What is the proof that these exits did not occur through the *parodoi*?



and the Thesmophoriazusae. The Knights must be dismissed from consideration, for as Dindorf pointed out, and as is now universally agreed, the close of this play is defective. Verses of the chorus have here been lost. These lost verses may have contained a direction similar to that in Plut. 1208, 1209, which would have determined the action that closed the play. In the other two plays mentioned, the situation demands that the exit of the actors shall be hurried.<sup>1</sup>

In the Acharnians, Dicaeopolis retires at the right at the head of a triumphal procession. The chorus have been completely won over, and he has thoroughly routed the enemies of peace. The Peace and the Birds end with the hymenaeus, with splendid spectacular effect. In the Wasps, the poet introduces what he himself tells us is a new device. (The date of the play is 422 B.C.)

"Come, dancing as you are, if you like it, lead away,  
For never yet, I warrant, has an actor till to-day  
Led out a chorus, dancing, at the ending of the play."<sup>2</sup>

The invention apparently pleased both poet and people, for three later plays end in a similar manner,—the Peace, the Birds, and the Ecclesiazusae. The grouping of actors, Athenian semichorus, and Athenian chorus at the close of the Lysistrata must have been effective.<sup>3</sup> The same general effect must have been produced by the processional close of the Frogs and the Plutus.

The fact that the comedies of Aristophanes so generally close in this manner is surely not without significance. It makes the supposition of a stage extremely difficult. In the Frogs, in particular, while there is throughout the play the distinctest *apparent* separation of chorus and actors, for reasons given elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> yet at the close

<sup>1</sup> In the Clouds, Strepsiades and Xanthias are escaping from the burning house. See Schönborn, p. 351: "Strepsiades verschwindet von dem Dache des brennenden Hauses aus mit seinen Dienern hinter den Coullissen zur linken." Beer's suggestion that 1508, 1509 belong to the chorus has much to commend it. See Kaehler's note. In the Thesmophoriazusae, the policeman disappears on the run in pursuit of 'Artamuxia.' Cf. 1225, 1226.

<sup>2</sup> Vesp. 1535-1537, from Mr. Rogers's translation of the play. The codices read *ἀρχούμενος* in 1537. The passage is quoted on p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 199.

of the play chorus and actors unite in the most natural manner. The inference in this play, as in the others, is that *there was no bar to their doing this*.

### III. *Argument from Impossible Situations.*

In two scenes in the *Lysistrata*, on the theory of a stage, a chorus of twenty-four persons must have executed a dance-movement upon it. But this would have been impossible on a stage so shallow as that assumed.

1. The semichorus of old men are certainly in front of the main scene at 306-318; that is, they are on the stage, if there is a stage. They have executed the four introductory lyric numbers in the orchestra. At 306 they turn to the accomplishment of the purpose which has brought them to the Acropolis. There is no intimation that they make an 'ascent.'<sup>1</sup> They lay down their burdens (307, 314), dip the vine-torch in the pot (308, 316), and threaten to butt like battering-rams at the gates of the Acropolis (309), and, if *Lysistrata* and those with her refuse to obey the summons and undo the bars, to burn the very gates with fire and smoke the women out (311, cf. 267-270).

The semichorus of women enter (with a double lyric number, it should be observed) on the level occupied by the old men at 306-318. While there is no intimation at any point that the women have made an 'ascent,' there is clear evidence in the dialogue which begins at 350 that men and women are on a common level. The old fellows threaten to break their sticks on the women's backs (357) and to slap their faces (360 f., cf. 362). The dialogue is spirited, and the language implies the possibility of personal contact:<sup>2</sup> ἦν προσφέρῃ τὴν χεῖρά τις (359); θενών (364); ἄπτου τῷ δακτύλῳ (365); ἦν σποδῶ τοῖς κονδύλοις (366); εἰ τῇδ' ὥς ἔχω τῇ λαμπάδι σταθείσω (376); ἔμψησον αὐτῆς τὰς κόμας (381). At its close the women actually douse the men with the contents of their pitchers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 176, note.

<sup>2</sup> What is here threatened is actually done further on in the play. Cf. 635, 657, 681, 705.

<sup>3</sup> The course of the action shows that the scholiast on 321 is wrong in supposing that the women are on the 'stage,' the old men below in the orchestra. πέτου, πέτου: Νῦν ἐστὶν ἡμυχόριον τὸ λέγον ἐκ γυναικῶν εἰσερχομένων ἄνωθεν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ

The chorus of twenty-four, then, are all on the stage, if there is a stage, at the moment of the entrance of the Magistrate at 387. Here they remain. But at 476 ff. occur a song and a dance of the old men, and at 541 ff. the corresponding song and dance of the women. That this lyric strophe and antistrophe were accompanied by a dance is clear from the language in 541, *ἔγωγε γὰρ ἂν οὔποτε κάμοιμ' ἂν ὀρχουμένη.*

Here then is an impossible situation, a dance movement executed on a shallow 'stage,' and that already overcrowded. (See below, p. 191 f.)

It should be added that no intimation is given in what follows that the chorus descend from the 'stage.' But the four lyric numbers which begin at 614 are clearly orchestric.

2. An impossible situation, similar to the above but even more convincing, occurs at the close of the play.

Athenians and Laconians have yielded to the women (1178 ff.). Lysistrata has conducted the men within the gates of the Acropolis, where they have feasted and given one another pledges. Each man is to take his wife and hie away homeward (1182 ff.). The feasters are announced, *ὡς ἤδη γε χωροῦσ' ἔνδοθεν* (1241), and appear, men and women together, as a supplementary chorus of twenty-four, consisting of a semichorus of six Laconian men and six Laconian women, and another semichorus of six Athenian men and six Athenian women. Immediately on their appearance through the gates of the Acropolis the lyric movement begins (1247). That the songs were accompanied by dances is clear. Cf. *διποδιάξω* (1243), *ὀρχουμένους* (1246), *ὀρχησάμενοι* (1277), *πρόσαγε χορόν, ἐπάγαγε χάριτας* (1279), *αἴρεσθ' ἄνω ἰαί* (1292), *ὦ εἴα κοῦφα πάλλων* (1304), *ποδοῖν τε πάδη* (1317).

In the two situations just described the height of the 'stage' is a matter of no special importance. The argument rests on its extreme shallowness, according to Vitruvius and according to the actual remains of proscenia found at Epidaurus, Assos, Oropus, and elsewhere. How extremely shallow it was is worthy of special attention.

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*ὕδωρ αὐτῶν καταχέωσιν ἄνωθεν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἡμιχόριον ἐξ ἀνδρῶν κάτωθεν ἐπερχόμενον ταῖς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει εἰς πολιωρκίαν.* The scholiast's imagination was caught by the dousing scene at 381 ff. He wished to get the effect of height when the women soused the men.

The 'stage' in the theatre at Epidauros was eight feet deep ; that is, this was the distance from the entablature of the proscenium to the wall of the main building.<sup>1</sup> The later stone proscenium in the theatre at Athens, which was probably erected just where the earlier temporary wooden proscenium had stood, was no further than this from the main building. But there was not actually even this amount of space for the movements of the actors. How it was narrowed had better be explained in the language of those who believe that the proscenium was in fact the front wall of the 'stage' on which the actors stood. Mr. Haigh says : "The upper portion of the painted scene represented merely the sky, and was probably the same in all dramas. The lower portion was separable from the upper, and on it was delineated the building or landscape which the particular play required. This lower portion of the scene must have stood some small distance in front of the upper portion. It is impossible that the whole scene should have been in one piece, and have ascended in a straight line from the bottom to the top of the stage. If this had been the case, there would have been no room for the narrow ledge or platform, which Pollux calls the 'distegia.'<sup>2</sup> The distegia was a contrivance which enabled actors to take their stand upon the roof of a palace or private house. . . . In the *Acharnians*, the wife of Dicaeopolis views the procession from the roof of the house. At the commencement of the *Wasps* Bdelycleon is seen sleeping upon the roof, and his father Philocleon tries to escape through the chimney. At the end of the *Clouds* Strepsiades climbs up by a ladder to the roof of the phrontisterion, in order to set it on fire. The distegia must also have been used in such scenes as that . . . in which *Lysistrata* and *Myrrina* are seen upon the battlements of the Acropolis.<sup>3</sup> It follows from these examples that there must have been room enough between the top of the palace or other building, and the surface of the scene behind it, to allow a narrow ledge or platform to be inserted. . . . The upper portion [of the scene] must have been

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Poll. IV. 129, 130: ἡ δὲ διαστεγία ποτὲ μὲν ἐν οἴκῳ βασιλείῳ διήρης δωματίον, οἷον ἂψ' οὗ ἐν Φοινίσσαις ἡ Ἀντιγόνη βλέπει τὸν στρατὸν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ κέραμος, ἂψ' οὗ βάλλουσι τῷ κεράμῳ· ἐν δὲ κωμῳδίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς διαστεγίας πορνοβοσκοί τι κατὰ πτεύουσιν ἢ γράδια ἢ γύναια καταβλέπει.

<sup>3</sup> Ach. 262, Vesp. 68, 144, Nub. 1485-1503, Lys. 864, 874, 883.

affixed to the permanent wall at the back of the stage. . . . The lower portion . . . would be fastened to a wooden frame a short distance in front of the permanent back-wall. There would thus be room for the erection of the ledge or distegia between the wooden frame and the wall at the back." So too Müller, who is more specific as to the amount of space taken by this extraordinary contrivance : "Indessen ist es eine sehr ansprechende Vermuthung, dass dieselben [die bemalten Vorhänge] nicht unmittelbar an der Hinterwand befestigt wurden, was nach Errichtung reich verzierter steinerner Wände schon des Statuen- und Säulenschmucks wegen nicht möglich gewesen wäre, sondern an einem hölzernen Rahmenwerke, welches jedenfalls so weit von der Hinterwand abstand, dass die Schauspieler zwischen dieser und jenem sich bewegen konnten."<sup>1</sup> The distegia, even at the narrowest, must have occupied two feet. Even then the position of the actor who took his place upon it would have been extremely uncomfortable and precarious. If the distegia occupied two feet of space, the total depth of the 'stage' in the theatres at Epidaurus and Athens was six feet. No dance of a chorus of twenty-four was possible, of course, on a 'stage' of this depth.

#### IV. *Argument from the Over-crowded 'Stage.'*

Scenes occur in Aristophanes in which the persons introduced are so many in number and the properties brought on are so considerable in amount that the action could not have been properly managed on a 'stage' only six feet in depth. The following instances, selected from many, will serve as illustrations.

1. *Acharnians* 1-203. The play opens with a regular meeting of the Athenian Assembly on the Pnyx. The chorus do not enter until this scene has closed. The following persons are all 'on' at the same time : Dicaeopolis (1 ff.) ; a herald (43 ff.) ; the prytanes (40, 56, 167, 173) ; ordinary ecclesiasts (τῶν ἐκκλησίων, 56) ; Amphitheus (45 ff.) ; policemen (54) ; ambassadors (61 ff.) ; Shamartabas (94) ; two eunuchs (117). The prytanes and ordinary ecclesiasts sit, and

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<sup>1</sup> Haigh, *A. T.*, p. 171 ff., Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 117. — On the theory that actors and chorus were on the same level, the 'roof-scenes' and the scenes corresponding to these took place on top of the proscenium. This would give a 'distegia' eight feet deep.

wooden benches are provided (25, 42, 59, 123). It is impossible to say how many 'mutae personae' were brought on to represent the prytanes, ecclesiasts, and policemen, but the indications are that the number was considerable. Dicaeopolis speaking of the prytanes uses the words *ἄθροι καταρρέοντες* (26), a natural indication of what is presently to happen; when the prytanes come in they crowd and jostle one another in their struggle for a front seat (24, 42); the herald's order is, *πάριτ' ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, πάριτε* (43 f.), language which suggests the press of a crowd whose numbers make it difficult for them to get to their places.

When Amphitheus, the ambassadors, Shamartabas, and the two eunuchs have retired, Theorus (134) and the Odomanti (155) are introduced. The latter are spoken of as *μαχιμώτατον Θρακῶν ἔθνος* (153) and as *Ὀδομαντῶν στρατός* (156, cf. 149-152); it is said of them *καταπελάσσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὅλην* (160).

In this part of the scene from thirty to fifty persons must have been introduced, and benches must have been provided for half of them. It is worthy of note, further, that a row occurs between Dicaeopolis and the Odomanti (163-168). To 'set' such a scene as this on a 'stage' so shallow would be extremely difficult. On the other hand, to reduce the number of the prytanes, ecclesiasts, policemen, and Odomanti to a handful is without justification. No good reason can be given for supposing that the Greeks relinquished the realistic effect of numbers in their dramatic representations. The general largeness of these representations would suggest the contrary. Our undoubted disposition to make the number of the 'dramatis personae' small results from the necessity which belief in the existence of a 'stage' has imposed. But in some scenes in Aristophanes the number of persons introduced is very great and cannot be reduced arbitrarily by any possible device. Two such scenes follow.

2. Pax 301-728. The scene describes the recovery of Peace from the *ἄντρον* in which she has been buried by War. The chorus are a part of the action. The passages which prove that all of the action takes place on the same level, contrary to the view of some of the commentators, are quoted on p. 174.

The following are participants: Trygaeus (309 ff.); Hermes (362 ff.); the chorus of twenty-four Attic farmers (301 ff.); representatives of other Greek states who come in with the chorus and

assist in the recovery of Peace, as Boeotians (466), Argives (475, 493), Laconians (478), Megarians (481, 500). These all actively assist in hauling Peace from the *ἄντρον* (cf. page 175, note). Further, when the great wooden statue is brought to light, two 'mutae personae' appear with it, Theoria and Opora.

The list of *dramatis personae* is lacking in R, but is found in V. The chorus are there designated as *Χορὸς γεωργῶν Ἀθμονέων* (cf. 190.) That they are farmers can be proved on the internal evidence furnished by the play. They are so called in 508, 511, 589, 603. That the Boeotians, Argives, Laconians, and Megarians who take part in the action are not members of the chorus is equally clear. When Trygaeus invokes help (296-298), he calls upon others besides farmers:

ἀλλ' ὦ γεωργοὶ καὶ ἄμφοροι καὶ τέκτονες  
καὶ δημιουργοὶ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ξένοι  
καὶ νησιῶται, δεῦρ' ἵτ' ὦ πάντες λεῶ.

Further on, workers in wood and smiths are specially named (479, 480). When the chorus enter, accompanied by the representatives of other nationalities, their exhortation is ὦ Πανέλληνες βοηθήσωμεν (302). These supplementary persons are finally excluded from the action, and the chorus of farmers alone pull on the ropes and bring the statue into view (508, 511). The supplementary persons are referred to in 538 ff., where the reference cannot be to the spectators, as verses 543 ff. prove. Finally the reference in 730 is pretty certainly to these 'followers' of the chorus, who at this point, when the parabasis is about to begin, take the implements (*σκεύη*, 729) and withdraw.<sup>1</sup>

That so great a number of persons could have been thus vigorously engaged on a 'stage' only six feet in depth is not conceivable. Provision, further, would have to be made for the stones that before the action began were heaped over the *ἄντρον* (225, 361, 427), for the statue of Peace, which was so colossal that it provoked the ridicule

<sup>1</sup> So Richter on 731: "τοῖς ἀκολούθοις. Sunt παραχορηγήματα κωφά, quae una cum choro prodierant a Trygaeo conclamata. Quorum numerus non definitus ac certus videtur fuisse, sed quot choreutas tot quasi παραχορευτὰς fuisse verisimile est."

of the poet's contemporaries,<sup>1</sup> and for the tools and ropes (299, 307, 426, 437, 458, 552, 566 f., 729).

It is instructive to see how self-imposed conditions have been ignored by the commentators and writers on scenic action in dealing with this scene. These conditions are a 'stage' six feet in depth and a 'distegia' two feet in depth.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Green places Trygaeus and Hermes on "the upper balcony, or pluteum" (the 'distegia'). Here the action is carried on till verse 728, when Trygaeus descends by a back staircase. Here too is the mouth of the cave, and here the goddess Peace ("a colossal image") and Opora and Theoria appear. The chorus, however, mount no higher than the 'stage.' From this they throw ropes up to Trygaeus and Hermes, who attach them to the image in the cave, pass them over pulleys, and let down the ends to the chorus. This is practically the view also of Schönborn, but he notes that the command of Hermes in 426, 427, *ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἄμαις εἰσιόντες ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλκετε*, really means that the chorus are to ascend to the upper level above the 'stage,' entering (*εἰσιόντες*) the main scene and so coming aloft. They get as far as the stage, where they are stopped by Trygaeus, and there they remain. Kanngiesser actually brings the chorus upon the *διστεγία* and has them dance there!

3. Lysistrata 387-613. The scene relates the contest of the Magistrate and his policemen with Lysistrata and her attendant women. It introduces: the chorus; the magistrate (387 ff.); policemen (424-430, 433 f., 437 f., 441 f., 445, 449, 451, 455, 462); Lysistrata (430 ff.); the First Woman (439 f.); the Second Woman (443 f.); the Third Woman (447 f.); a crowd of women from the Acropolis (456 ff.).

The proof that the chorus are on the 'stage' at this point is given on p. 185 f. The services of four different policemen are called into requisition, but the number of policemen present was probably greater.<sup>3</sup> These four struggle with individual women.

<sup>1</sup> Scholiast on Plat. Apol. 19 c: *κωμωδεῖται δέ, ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης κολοσσικὸν ἐξῆρεν ἄγαλμα. Εὐπολὶς Ἀντολύκῃ, Πλάτων Νίκαις.*

<sup>2</sup> See p. 187 f.

<sup>3</sup> The words *ἐπιλέλοιψ' ὁ τοξότης* in 449 probably mean "My peeler has the worst of it" (meaning the one last engaged), not "I have no more policemen left," as Dobree and Dindorf think. Why Lysistrata says *τέτταρες λόχοι* in 453 is explained by the scholiast: *τοῦτο δέ φησιν ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις τέσσαρες ὑπάρχουσι λόχοι, οἷς κέχρηται ὁ βασιλεὺς.*



When they are worsted, the magistrate rallies his whole squad against Lysistrata and the three other women, *ὁμόσε χωρῶμεν αὐταῖς ὦ Σκύθαι ξυντραχήμενοι* (451 f.). Overcome by numbers, Lysistrata calls, not on the semichorus of women, but on the women within the Acropolis for help, and these come rushing forth (456 ff.) :

“Forth to the fray, dear sisters, bold allies!  
O egg-and-seed-and-potherb-market-girls,  
O garlic-selling-barmaid-baking-girls,  
Charge to the rescue, smack and whack, and thwack them,  
Slang them, I say: show them what jades ye be.  
Fall back! retire! forbear to strip the slain.”<sup>1</sup>

This is lively action for so narrow a ‘stage,’ with a great number of persons ‘on.’ It is difficult, further, to see how the injunction *ἐπαραχωρεῖτε* (461) could have been an appropriate order on such a ‘stage.’

#### V. *Argument from Probability.*

1. The chorus in comedy frequently engage in dialogue with the actors in a very familiar manner. When these scenes are continued to any length, the situation is intolerably awkward, on the supposition that the chorus are in the orchestra and the actors above the proscaenium. The chorus would be in the position of a person calling out to another at a second-story window.<sup>2</sup> Comparison in the following typical scenes of the actual situation as conceived by Aristophanes with the situation imposed by the Vitruvian stage will show the improbability that the poet was writing to meet the conditions imposed by such a stage. In the *Acharnians*, in a long scene (280–392) in which the dialogue is exclusively between one actor and the chorus, the chorus come out of hiding, catch Dicaeopolis before his house, and are about to stone him to death. The chorus threaten and then plead, Dicaeopolis pleads and then threatens. Cf. further the lan-

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. Rogers's translation of the play.

<sup>2</sup> “Denn da, wie Vitruv lehrt und das Theater zu Epidaurus bestätigt, das Logeion sich über die Orchestra um 10 bis 12 Fuss erhob, so würde bei der Annahme, dass der Chor auf dem ebenen Boden der Orchestra stand, zunächst die Ungereimtheit entstehen, dass der Chor nur etwa bis zur halben Höhe des Logeions hinangeragt und bei seinem Gesprächen mit den Schauspielern wie aus einem Keller zu diesen hinauf gesprochen hätte.” Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 128. Müller is here arguing for the supplementary stage for the chorus. See p. 160.

guage in 291, *δύνασαι πρὸς ἡμ' ἀποβλέπειν*. In the Wasps (316-394) Philocleon is at the window of the house, and concerts with the chorus a plan of escape.<sup>1</sup> In the Peace (301-361) Trygaeus pleads earnestly with the chorus to keep quiet. In the Birds (801-850) Peithetaerus, Euelpides, and the chorus arrange their plans in the most friendly and intimate manner.<sup>2</sup> In the Knights (1111-1150) Demus and the chorus sing to one another. It seems improbable in scenes such as these that the barrier of a high stage separated chorus from actors. What was probably the actual situation is illustrated in the Plutus (253-321), where Carion and the chorus are in the orchestra together, whether there was a stage or not.

2. There is great difference of opinion as to the extent to which the device for exposing an interior, called the *ἐκκύκλημα*, was actually employed in the Greek dramas now extant.<sup>3</sup>

Haigh describes the *eccyclema* as follows: "It was a small wooden platform, rolling upon wheels, and was kept inside the stage-buildings.

<sup>1</sup> Assuming the house to have been of one story (the fact generally for Athenian houses in Aristophanes's time), Philocleon is still twenty feet above the floor of the orchestra, if there was a 'stage.' From this altitude, he begins to warble his plaintive strain to the chorus! It is improbable, moreover, that the son could have been seen by the chorus from the place where they stood in the orchestra; but still the old man points him out to them, using the deictic *οἱ τοὶ* (337). Cf. Thes. 1171, where the *chorus*, in conversation with Euripides, point to the policeman who lies asleep in front of the main scene. Cf. also Vesp. 1208 ff., where Philocleon reclines; Eq. 1214 ff., where the chests are examined; and Ach. 989, where the feathers are thrown out of doors. It is doubtful in these cases and in Eq. 98 whether even the first rows of the spectators would have had an adequate view of what was going on. With the use of the pronoun mentioned above cf. Ach. 607-614 (note *τῷ δὲ*), where Dicaeopolis addresses members of the chorus in a confidential manner. — The use of the word *παρίστανμι* also in two places in Aristophanes, in application to the chorus, is worthy of note, *τοὺς δ' αὖ χορευτὰς ἡλιθίους παρεστάναι* (Ach. 443), and *ὑμεῖς θ' ὅσαι παρέστατ' ἐπὶ ταῖσιν θύραις* (Eccl. 1114). It seems highly improbable that language like this could have been used of persons standing ten or twelve feet lower than the speaker.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 199, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Müller, *B.-A.*, pp. 142-148, with the notes, where full references are given both to ancient and modern authorities. Neckel (*Das Ekkyklima*, Friedland, 1890) denies its use by Aeschylus and Sophocles. In comedy, he says, it was used only for purposes of parody. Neckel represents the extreme conservative view as against O. Müller, Albert Müller, and many others.

When it was required to be used, one of the doors in the background was thrown open, and it was rolled forward on to the stage. Upon it was arranged a group of figures, representing in a sort of tableau the deed or occurrence which had just taken place inside the building." So practically Müller and Oehmichen, who add that, although the eccyclema was narrow, since its width was determined by the breadth of the door through which it was rolled out, it was still so long that its surface furnished sufficient sitting accommodation, in the Eumenides, for the entire chorus, with Orestes in their midst.<sup>1</sup> If the Eumenides was brought out on the narrow Vitruvian stage, the use of the eccyclema in the scene mentioned must have involved the choreutae and the actor who played the part of Orestes in grave danger to life and limb.<sup>2</sup>

That the eccyclema was a part of the machinery of the theatre in the time of Aristophanes is not a matter of doubt. Its use is announced in two scenes, and is referred to unequivocally in a third, and it must have been brought into requisition in other scenes where interiors had to be presented. We may dismiss from consideration the instances where it has been thought by learned men that resort must have been had to it, but in which its use may fairly be regarded as doubtful.<sup>3</sup> The following remain.

In the Acharnians, when Dicaeopolis is about to plead his cause before the chorus, he desires to present himself to them clad in the dress of the true Euripidean hero. Euripides's valet refuses to call his master out of doors. Dicaeopolis, standing before the house, himself invokes the poet to come forth. The answer is :

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ.  
ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ.  
ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήθητ'.

<sup>1</sup> Haigh, *A. T.*, p. 186; Müller, *B.-A.*, p. 146<sup>4</sup>; Oehmichen, *Bühnenwesen*, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> See Dörpfeld in *Berliner Philol. Woch.*, 29 Nov. 1890, p. 1537.

<sup>3</sup> Nub. in init. (see Schönborn, p. 345, and Niejahr, *Quaestiones Arist. Scæn.*, p. 37); Nub. 184 (see the scholiast and O. Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, I. p. 538); Eq. 1249 (see O. Müller, *Kl. Sch.*, I. p. 537, and Schönborn, p. 316, note); Eq. 1326 (see Niejahr, p. 32); Vesp. in init. (see Schönborn, p. 325); Thes. 277 (see the scholiast).

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ.

ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ.

ἀλλ' ὅμως.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ.

ἀλλ' ἐκκυκλήσομαι· καταβαίνειν δ' οὐ σχολή.

Ach. 407-409.

Euripides appears, of course, by means of the eccyclema,<sup>1</sup> seated on some sort of an elevation. He has about him, in great amount, the paraphernalia of his art, τὰ ῥάκι' ἐκ τραγῳδίας, ἐσθῆτ' ἐλλεινῆν (412, 413). On the platform by him is the ragged dress of Oeneus, of Phoenix, of Philoctetes, of Bellerophon, of Telephus, of Thyestes, of Ino. He bestows upon Dicaeopolis from his store the dress of Telephus, his cap, a staff, basket, cup, potlet, and stale garden stuff. The scene ends with the indignant command of the poet (479),

ἀνὴρ ὑβρίζει· κλῆε πηκτὰ δωμάτων,

when the eccyclema is rolled in and the door is closed.

A similar scene occurs in the Thesmophoriazusae 95-265, where the significance of the words οὐκκυκλούμενος (96), εἴσω τις . . . μ' ἐσκυκλησάτω (265) is certain. The effeminate Agathon has about him on the platform a great amount of properties; on it is a couch (261) and behind it is sufficient free space to permit an attendant to enter the house (see 238).

In these two scenes the use of terms makes it certain that the eccyclema was brought into requisition.<sup>2</sup> Its use is equally certain in the kitchen-scene near the close of the Acharnians (1003-1096). The main scene represents the house of Dicaeopolis at the centre, that of Euripides on the one side of this, and that of Lamachus on the other. The entire space is thus occupied. The kitchen-scene represents an interior in the house of Dicaeopolis. When the scene closes, his order is (1096), σύγκληε, καὶ δειπνὸν τις ἐνσκευαζέτω. His dinner-box is then packed *outside* of the house. The scene introduces on the platform Dicaeopolis as *chef*, and servants, both men and women (1003). They braize and roast meats (1005) and weave

<sup>1</sup> See the scholiast on 408.

<sup>2</sup> See also the metaphorical reference to the eccyclema in Vesp. 1475.

chaplets (1006). There are, of course, braziers (1014). The scene is full of life and movement.<sup>1</sup>

It is noteworthy that in no one of these three scenes an orchestric movement occurs. All the space needed for the eccyclema on the floor of the orchestra is at the command of the playwright. It is certainly more probable that the machine was rolled out on the floor of the orchestra than on the narrow space which the roof of the proscenium would have afforded.

3. Passages occur in Aristophanes in which the distribution of the parts and the action are in great confusion in the texts, but which are immediately free of difficulties if we assume that there was no stage and that the chorus had easy access to the main scene. A typical case is Lys. 1216 ff.

On the assumption of a stage, it is impossible to say in this passage to whom *ὑμεῖς* in 1217 refers. To the "spectatores," Blaydes says. But the question addressed to them is, *τί κάθησθε; μῶν ἐγὼ τῇ λαμπάδι ὑμᾶς κατακαύσω*; Bergler says: "Servus, qui est janitor, quosdam vocat, ut sibi sint adjuutores in abigendis iis, qui intrare volunt." Dindorf interprets: "Atheniensis minatur plebeculae, non constat quot personis representatae, quam chorus invitaverat, vv. 1209-1215." Blaydes introduces in this closing scene no fewer than five speaking persons besides the chorus, two of whom are pure inventions; Dindorf introduces four. Meineke's conception of the action, again, is altogether different from that of Blaydes, Bergler, or Dindorf. The editors need not be cited further. The passage is in great confusion.

All difficulties disappear, if we assume that the main scene opens directly upon the orchestra without the intervention of a stage. On this supposition, moreover, we need not depart from the tradition of the codices in the distribution of the parts. Only two speaking persons are introduced besides the chorus and Lysistrata, — a servant (*θεράπων*) who precedes the revellers with lighted torch, who has verses 1216-1220, 1222-1224, 1239, 1240, and an Athenian who has been one of the feasters, who has 1225-1227. The *chorus* have 1221, 1228-1238, and 1241.

<sup>1</sup> There are two other kitchen-scenes in Aristophanes, in which also the eccyclema was probably brought into use, Pax 1191 ff., Av. 1579 ff.

The action, then, is as follows. The servant, coming from the feast with torch alight, says, inside the door,<sup>1</sup> to the door-keeper, "Open the door! Get out of the way, won't you?" The door opens, and he sees the chorus, who after the completion of their lyric number have grouped themselves about the doorway, and says, "What are *you* sitting here for? You wouldn't like to have me set you afire with my torch, eh? Nay, 'tis a vulgar trick, I won't do it. Still if it must be done, to please you" (with a nod to the audience), "I'll undertake this task as well." The chorus, with comic recognition of the situation, answer, "And we, with you, will undertake the task," that is, they are ready to be made victims, for the pleasure of the spectators. The scene continues, in Mr. Rogers's inimitable translation :

SERVANT. "Hang you, be off! What are you at? You'll catch it.  
Come, come, begone; that these Laconians here,  
The banquet ended, may depart in peace.

*(One of the banqueters comes out.)*

ATHENIAN. Well, if I ever saw a feast like this!  
What cheery fellows those Laconians were,  
And we were wondrous witty in our cups.

CHORUS. Ay, ay, 'tis when we're sober, we're so daft.  
Now if the state would take a friend's advice,  
'Twould make its envoys always all get drunk.  
When we go dry to Sparta, all our aim  
Is just to see what mischief we can do.  
We don't hear aught they say; and we infer  
A heap of things they never said at all.  
Then we bring home all sorts of differing tales.  
Now everything gives pleasure: if a man,  
When he should sing Cleitagora, strike up  
With Telamon's song, we'd clap him on the back,  
And say 'twas excellent; ay, and swear it too.

*(The chorus again crowd about the doorway.)*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the entry of Xanthias, Vesp. 835, who is muttering to himself as he comes in, and particularly Vesp. 1482 ff., which furnishes a singularly parallel case to the one under consideration.

SERVANT. Why, bless the fellows, here they come again,  
Crowding along. Be off, you scoundrels, will you?

CHORUS. By Zeus, we must : the guests are coming out."

The chorus hereupon fall back, at each side of the doorway, and the two supplementary semichoruses appear, with Lysistrata, preceded by their leaders. In precisely the same manner the chorus fall back at the close of the Wasps (1516, 1517), to give the dancers space.

In this and similar passages that interpretation of the action would seem to be probable which solves the difficulties of the scenic situation.

The universal belief in the existence of a stage in the time of Aristophanes has introduced grave errors into the text of the poet's plays and into their interpretation. Scholars have been forced to assume that the chorus were not an intimate part of the action, and have thought of the chorus as a compact body, moving throughout the play, with some inevitable exceptions, in stiff military order and with that military precision with which they did, doubtless, generally enter the orchestra.<sup>1</sup> But almost any one of the plays will furnish scenes that contradict both assumptions.

From the very plot of the play, if we may use this word which has special modern connotations in application to the Greek drama, we should expect to find the chorus engaging intimately in the action. In the Knights they come in with a rush, in answer to an earnest appeal for help (242 ff.), to bear aid to *Oikérης* A and *Oikérης* B, and are throughout the play the relentless and *active* opponents of the Paphlagonian. When Agoracritus leaves to encounter Cleon in the Senate, the chorus equip him with their own hands for the fight (490 ff.). In the Wasps they actually fight hand to hand with Bdelycleon and Xanthias in defence of Philocleon (403 ff.); and when the truce occurs are made the arbiters (521) in the following discussion. In the Peace they are the direct agents by which the

<sup>1</sup> Haigh is very bold (*A. T.*, p. 268): "Except on rare occasions the dramatic choruses were drawn up in forms of military regularity, both on their first entrance, and during the progress of the play. They presented a perfectly symmetrical appearance in the orchestra." Müller is more cautious (*B.-A.*, p. 212): "Ueber die Stellungen, welche der Chor nach seiner Ankunft auf der Thymele einnahm, sind wir bei dem Mangel eingehender Nachrichten fast ganz auf Vermuthungen angewiesen."

main purpose of the plot of the play is accomplished, and work shoulder to shoulder with Trygaeus and Hermes (427 ff.). Even in the *Plutus*, which was written at a time when the importance of the chorus in the drama was beginning to wane, they are summoned to receive their share in the blessings which *Plutus* is to bestow (223 ff.), and actually make their entrance into the orchestra in company with one of the actors (253 ff.). In those plays, moreover, where they are at first in opposition to the protagonist, they become reconciled and afterwards give him hearty support. So in the *Acharnians* (626 f., 929 ff., 1228, 1230) and in the *Birds* (627 ff., 1189 ff., 1330 ff., 1720 ff.).<sup>1</sup> In such plays as the *Clouds* and *Frogs* the chorus are not so intimately connected with the action as in other plays, first because the purpose of the play forbade it, and secondly because of the peculiar character of the chorus; but the interlocutory scenes in each (*e.g.* *Nub.* 427 ff., *Ran.* 431 ff.) clearly show how intimate the relation of actors and chorus was felt to be.

In two of the comedies of Aristophanes the relation of the chorus to the actors is strikingly intimate,—they constitute with them members of an assembly. In the *Ecclesiazusae*, first *Praxagora* enters, then the chorus (30 f.), whose leader speaks here and at 43 ff.,<sup>2</sup> then *Praxagora's* neighbour (35 ff.), then seven other women who are

<sup>1</sup> Even the codices are frequently in error in the ascription of the parts. In the scene in the *Birds* (801 ff.) where the great City in the Air is given a name and its guardian god selected, the internal evidence makes it clear that the chorus had their part. In this scene the chorus question, *Peithetaerus* answers, *Euelpides* is foil. Verses 809 (first half), 812, 817 (first half), 820, 826, 827, 832, belong therefore to the chorus. Koch, with his well-known acumen, saw this; *Meineke*, less clearly.

Many passages which have caused great perplexity might be cited which become easy of interpretation if we reject the theory of a stage. If the theory that there was no stage be accepted, the comedies of Aristophanes in particular will need careful and thorough-going revision.

<sup>2</sup> The codices do not recognize the presence of the chorus till 285, but then only N, it should be observed. R has the lineola and B Γ are silent. The ascription of the parts in this play in the codices is notoriously uncertain. Of the recent editors, *Meineke*, *Bergk*, *von Velsen*, from internal evidence, recognize the presence of the chorus at 30. Even *Blaydes*, who follows A N in giving 30, 31 to one of the women, quotes with approval (p. 209 of his edition) *Dindorf's* suggestion, who in speaking of the woman to whom 30, 31 are assigned says, "quae fortasse chori κορυφαία fuerit."



named, then *ἑτεραὶ πολλαὶ πάντῃ γυναῖκες* (53 f.). They seat themselves (57, cf. 130, 144, 152, 169), and Praxagora drills them in the part that they are presently to play in the assembly on the Pnyx. They go off together, Praxagora and the other women first, the chorus following (285) with a quick orchestric movement (289-310). The chorus in this scene are in their function undistinguishable from the actors and mutes, except at the very close.<sup>1</sup> In the Thesmophoriasusae the relation of chorus to actors is still more intimate than in the scene just mentioned, but still the chorus here better maintain their lyric and orchestric function. They constitute, in fact, the meeting, and represent the commons to whom the orators address themselves (384, 455, 466, cf. 533, 540). The orators are the First Woman (Micca, 380, 760), the Second Woman, who presently retires (458), and Mnesilochus. Philiste, a friend of Micca, is named (568), and Micca has the aid of her slave woman (728, 739, 754). Besides these, the nurse is present with the baby (608, 609). How many others were present with the speakers (cf. *τὰς ἄλλας*, 607) is uncertain, but probably the number of those introduced in addition to the chorus was small. This supposition accords with the economy of the play, since the chorus appear prominently as such, and since the meeting is presently broken up by the discovery of Mnesilochus and is merged into the general action. The presence of a large number of mutes would be both unnecessary and disturbing. But this prominence of the chorus as central figures in the action makes the intimacy of their relation to the actors only the more prominent. When the herald proclaims that prayer is to be made to the gods (295, 310), the chorus answer (312 ff.) and offer the prayer. (Cf. also 332, 351 with 352 ff.) When the first speaker is about to begin, the chorus say, "Silence, silence! Give attention. She's clearing her throat, just as the orators do. Belike she'll speak at length" (381 f.). The chorus express approval or disapproval of the views of the speakers (434 ff., 459 ff., 520 ff.). When Cleisthenes enters, the chorus take up the dialogue in the most familiar manner (582 ff.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, a scene which could not have been acted on the Vitruvian stage (cf. the argument in IV., p. 188 ff.), and it confirms the view advanced on p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> The action in this scene of the Thesmophoriasusae was managed as follows. The background is the Thesmophorium (278). Euripides, Mnesilochus (dressed

The chorus, then, were an intimate part of the action. No less certain is it that the chorus did not maintain a stiff military formation during the entire course of the action of the play. In the first place, the instances are not rare in comedy where they certainly broke rank and file. Cf. *Vesp.* 415-462; *Pax* 458-519, 970-972, and 1305-1315; *Lys.* 306-318 and 1216 ff.; *Thes.* 730-738; *Eccl.* 30-284. When, further, we remember how intimately they were associated with the action of the play, it seems somewhat absurd, especially in comedy, to keep them standing bolt-upright and stock-still, in military order, in long scenes where they have no orchestric movement. Cf. for example the close of the scene that precedes the parabasis in the *Knights* (409-497, note especially 490 ff.<sup>1</sup>) or a scene that follows in the same play (843-972, note especially 921<sup>2</sup>). Still, when we recall the origin of the dramatic chorus, and observe the frequency of orchestric movements in comedy, we realize that the function of the chorus was different from that of the actor. If we follow the indications given in the plays, we shall suppose that the chorus could break rank and file on occasion in a manner which did not seem unnatural to the spectators, and that at other times, when not dancing, they were generally grouped in semichoruses on each side of the main action. The division of the chorus into semichoruses is generally recognized in the *Acharnians* (557 ff.) and in the *Lysistrata* (254 ff. and 1247 ff.). So in *R* in the *Ecclesiazusae* (1263 ff.). It is noteworthy that von Velsen, an editor of great critical acumen, has divided the chorus into semichoruses also in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Frogs*, and throughout the *Ecclesiazusae*.<sup>3</sup> The supposition

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as a woman), and Thratta appear at the right (277 ff.). Euripides leaves as he came (279), Mnesilochus seats himself, in a convenient place, between the wings in front of the proscenium (292), and the maid retires (293). The herald, chorus, and other women enter at the right (295 ff.). The latter also take their seats (cf. 384) between the wings, and here they stand when addressing the assembly, that is, the chorus, who occupy the orchestra. — This scene also could not have been acted on the Vitruvian stage, and it confirms the view advanced on p. 177.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is commented on, pp. 173, 174.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is commented on, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Von Velsen edited the text of these three plays in 1883, 1881, 1883 respectively; that of the *Knights*, in which he does not recognize the semichorus, in 1869. He edited the text of the *Plutus* in 1881, but the omission of choruses in

suggested above completely meets the objection that if the actors played on the same level with the chorus, the chorus obscured them from view. Scenes such as Eq. 1151-1262, Vesp. 1122-1264, and Ran. 830 ff. can thus be perfectly managed. Any one who has sat in the theatre at Athens and looked down into the great space of the orchestra cannot doubt that even the details of the action were clearly seen. The performance was in broad daylight and in the open air. Dörpfeld, whose careful study of the theatre of Dionysus at Athens gives his words great weight, states the facts cogently.

“Aber der Chor verdeckte die Schauspieler keineswegs: er war gewöhnlich in zwei Halbchöre geteilt, welche sich nicht unmittelbar vor den Schauspielern, sondern seitwärts aufstellten; er war nur klein im Verhältniss zu der grossen Fläche der Orchestra, auf welcher gespielt wurde; er war durch einfachere Tracht wohl unterschieden von dem Schauspieler, welcher durch Kleidung und Kothurn [in tragedy] als Hauptperson leicht kenntlich war; und schliesslich dürfen wir nicht vergessen, dass schon die unterste Sitzreihe vielfach etwas über dem Fussboden der Orchestra liegt, und dass die Bewegungen der Spielenden, je höher man sitzt, um so mehr von oben, also im Grundriss, gesehen werden. Obwohl in unsern modernen Theatern ein grosser Teil des Publikums tiefer sitzt als die Bühne, scheut man sich nicht, sehr viele Nebenpersonen auftreten zu lassen, durch welche oft genug die Hauptpersonen wenigstens für einen Teil der Zuschauer verdeckt werden.”<sup>1</sup>

The arguments presented in this paper have been in the main negative and destructive. I have endeavoured to show that the comedies of Aristophanes could not have been played on the Vitruvian stage. It would be unfortunate to close the discussion without leaving a positive impression. The ease with which, on the assumption that actors and chorus were on a common level and that there was not the barrier of a ‘stage’ between them, any comedy can be ‘set’ is one of the strongest arguments in support of the proposition that in the time of Aristophanes the ‘stage’ did not exist. The play

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the Plutus throws it out of the consideration. — Von Velsen was not influenced, of course, in his conclusions by the consideration that there was no ‘stage’ in the time of Aristophanes.

<sup>1</sup> *Berliner Philol. Woch.*, 12 April, 1890, p. 470.

that gives the greatest trouble on the old theory is the *Lysistrata*. I shall, therefore, close this paper by indicating in broad outline what I conceive the course of the action in this play to have been.

We have before us the temporary wooden proscenium on which the scenery was hung, the big circular orchestra, and the two broad parodoi.

The play falls into two acts. The scene of each is Athens. The time is daybreak.

In the first act, the special scene represents the house of the chief person of the play, *Lysistrata*, at the centre. At the right or left of centre is the house of *Calonice*.

At the beginning of the play *Lysistrata* enters from her house, with an attendant.<sup>1</sup> *Calonice* enters from her house at 5. Women enter at the left<sup>2</sup> at 65, 66, among whom is *Myrrhina*. *Lampito* enters at the left at 77 with other Laconian women, and is followed by a young woman from Boeotia (85 f.) and a girl from Corinth (90 f.). *Lysistrata's* attendant enters her mistress's house at 199, and returns with a cylix and stamnion. *Lampito* retires at the left alone at 244. At 253 all the other women troop off at the right to the Acropolis.

The scene changes. The scene in the second act represents the Propylaea of the Acropolis.

The semichorus of men enter at the right at 254, carrying logs of wood and a pot containing fire. Their movements are in the orchestra until 306, when they turn to the main scene between the wings, put down their logs, and light their torches.<sup>3</sup> The semichorus of women also enter at the right at 319. They too execute a dance, and, this concluded, at 350 discover the men, who now return to the open space of the orchestra. The two semichoruses face one another.<sup>4</sup> The Magistrate enters at the right at 387 attended by policemen. He takes his place at centre with the semichoruses grouped in front of him at each side. He is in full view of the spectators. After the conclusion of his bitter denunciation of the women, he sets his men to work with levers on the gates of the Acropolis,

<sup>1</sup> Facetiously called *ἑκδοαῖνα* at 184. See Brunck's note.

<sup>2</sup> These entrances (right and left) were probably all made through the parodoi. See p. 171, note 2, and p. 183, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 176, note.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 185.

when they open and Lysistrata appears at 430. The following scene is full of movement.<sup>1</sup> Three women appear from the Acropolis one after the other at 439, 443, 447, to the aid of Lysistrata and of one another. When the policemen charge in a body, other women come pouring out of the Acropolis (456) and there is a general *mêlée*, in which, however, the semichoruses take no part. The Magistrate and policemen are worsted and fall back. The semichorus of men address the Magistrate, the semichorus of women answer, both in iambic rhythm, and then the men execute a short orchestric movement (476-483). The dialogue between Lysistrata and the Magistrate follows. The grouping is effective. At right of centre stand Lysistrata and the women, at left of centre the Magistrate and policemen. The semichoruses are grouped in front of these at each side as interested spectators of the action, of which the audience also have a clear view. The dialogue is broken (541-548) by a short orchestric movement of the semichorus of women, corresponding to the dance of the men mentioned above. Each half of the dialogue practically ends with an anapaestic system (531 ff., 598 ff.). During the first the Magistrate receives a wimple and instruments for spinning; during the second he is equipped with the habiliments of a corpse. The scene finally ends at 613. The Magistrate and policemen retire at the right, Lysistrata and the women within the Acropolis.

The semichoruses bring forward the substitute for the parabasis.

Lysistrata enters from the Acropolis at 706, followed later by three women, who enter respectively at 727, 735, 742.<sup>2</sup> The four retire within the Acropolis at 780. After antistrophic songs by the semichoruses, Lysistrata appears at 829 on the Acropolis wall; that is, on the top of the proscenium. She is immediately joined by Myrrhina and other women (830). Cinesias is seen at the same time to be approaching at the left below, with a child, and attended. The other women retire from view at 844, and a dialogue ensues between Lysistrata and Cinesias. Lysistrata leaves the wall at 864, where Myrrhina appears at 872. She leaves the wall at 884, and enters through the main scene at 889. The attendant goes off with the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 191 f.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 760, 761 should be assigned to the First Woman.

child at 908. Myrrhina goes within the Acropolis at 918, 924, 927, 935, 939, 945, returning immediately after each exit at 920, 925, 929, 937, 941, 947 respectively. She makes her exit for good at 951. Cinesias retires at the left at 979. The herald from Sparta enters at the left at 980, the Athenian magistrate at the right at 982. Each retires as he came in, the magistrate at 1012, the herald at 1013. The men and women of the chorus are finally reconciled in a humorous scene full of comic action, ending in a joint dance. Envoys from Sparta enter at the left at 1073, Athenian ambassadors at the right at 1082. Lysistrata enters from the Acropolis at 1107, with a 'muta persona' who represents Reconciliation. All go within the Acropolis at 1188. The united chorus execute a dance which repeats the movement of 1043-1072. The servant enters from the Acropolis at 1216,<sup>1</sup> and one of the Athenian banqueters at 1225. The Laconian and Athenian supplementary semichoruses with Lysistrata appear at 1242. The original chorus is grouped on both sides of the entrance. After the dance movements in which each supplementary semichorus shows its skill, all retire, the Laconians at the left, the Athenians at the right.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 196 ff.



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